

# PAKEHA AND MAORI FORTIFICATIONS OF THE FIRST TARANAKI WAR, 1860–61

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*Abstract.* In the First Taranaki War of 1860–61 small field works thrown up by both sides were central to the conduct and course of the fighting. Maori works included *ca* 30 fortified pa, also rifle pits and trenches. Thirty-one Pakeha forts were earthwork redoubts, stockades or blockhouses. Archaeological remains of the sites make up an important part of the north Taranaki historic landscape.

It was a major part of Maori strategy to erect fortified pa to invite attack. By this means the enemy would be defeated and the conflict brought to an end. A notable success was achieved at Puketakauere in June 1860, otherwise the strategy was to prove indecisive.

European forces used fortifications to gain battlefield advantage, protect lines of communication, and defend civilian and troop concentrations. The success of the works was measured not by their having repelled an attack but by none having been attempted. The campaign saw the first major use of field fortifications by Pakeha forces in the New Zealand Wars, and their only sustained use in tactical battlefield roles.

The 19th century New Zealand Wars were critical in changing New Zealand from a predominantly Maori country to one in which the Pakeha prevailed. Campaigns in the 1840s did little to resolve conflict between the indigenous people and newcomers, but from 1863, fighting in the Waikato, Bay of Plenty, Wanganui and Taranaki districts altered the balance of power between the races and secured much of the North Island's richest land for Pakeha settlement. Between these two phases of military conflict was the Taranaki war of 1860–61. In its lack of resolution this was like the earlier campaigns. In the extensive use of small field fortifications by both sides it set an example for fighting which followed.

In the main part of this account the description and history of fortifications is organised chronologically. It is hoped that the reader will thus be able to follow the course of the campaign and understand the purpose and context of the various works.

## TARANAKI

From the start of organised Pakeha settlement in Taranaki in 1841 a conflict arose between Maori and European over land (see Fig. 1). The newcomers were frustrated by the Maori refusal to sell; and Maori undoubtedly felt threatened by the growing Pakeha presence. The conflict reached a new stage in 1859 when a chief named Teira offered land at Waitara to Governor Gore Browne who was visiting New Plymouth.

Pakeha settlers eagerly grasped the opportunity to break up opposition to land sales among the Te Atiawa iwi (tribe), and to extend their settlement in a long desired direction. But

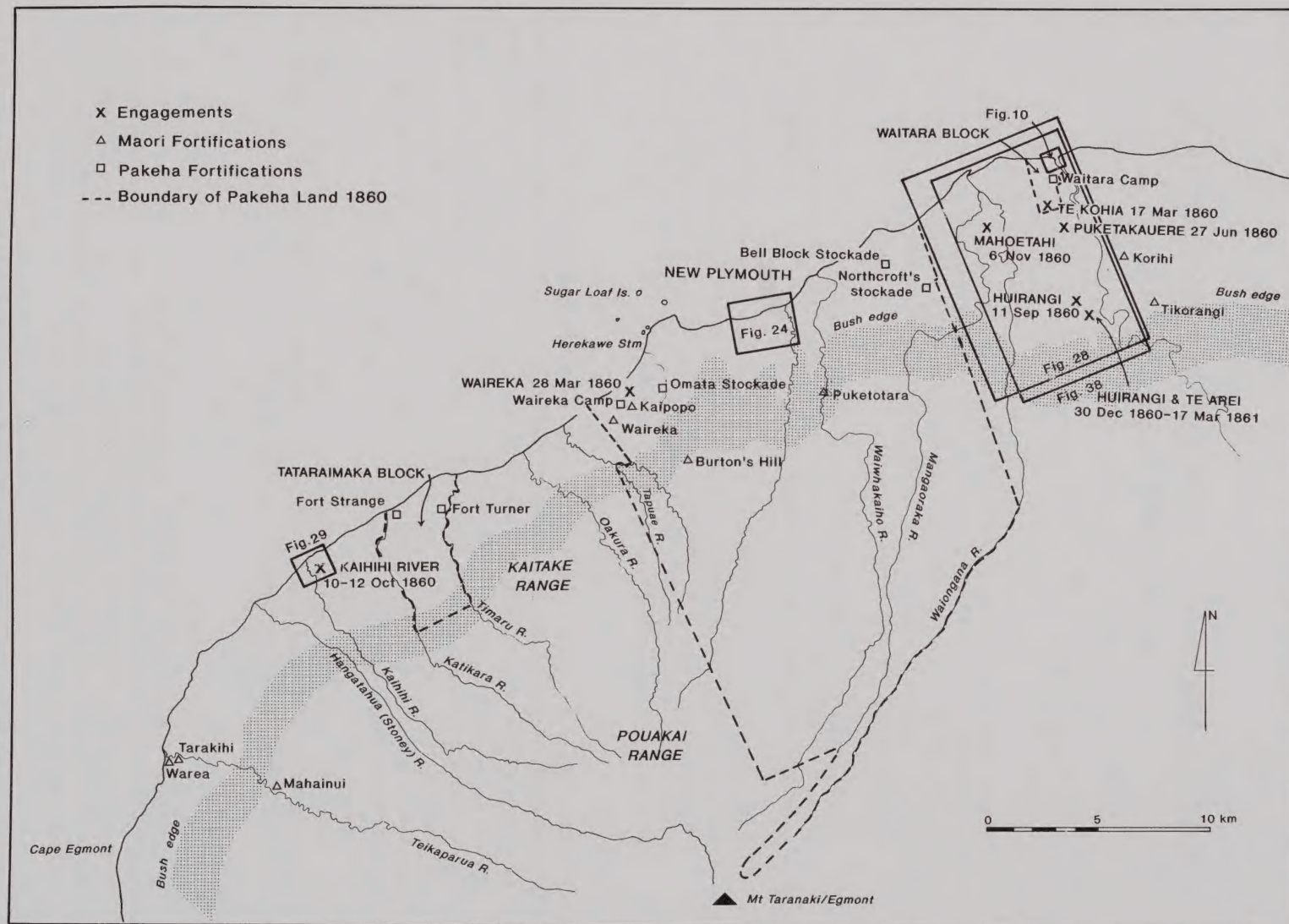


Fig. 1. North Taranaki, showing location of Figures 10, 24, 28, 29 and 38, also Maori and Pakeha fortifications outside the detailed maps, major engagements, purchased land, forest edge, rivers and streams, etc.



the sale of Waitara was opposed by the greater part of Te Atiawa under the leadership of Wiremu Kingi te Rangitake. In February 1860 surveyors began marking out the disputed land. When they were obstructed by Maori people living there martial law was declared on 22 February. Work on settler forts in farming districts north and south of New Plymouth was rapidly pushed ahead.

The First Taranaki War took place from March 1860 to March 1861. Throughout the campaign the British command sought a decisive victory over Maori forces. This was the proper way to conduct warfare after all, and somehow Waitara would be secured as a result. The problem was that the enemy would not come out and fight. Pakeha forces were thus drawn into attacks on fortified pa, with mixed success and little strategic benefit.

Early in the war Governor Browne advised Taranaki commanding officer Colonel Gold on just how this should be done. He refers to Wiremu Kingi a few days before the fight at Te Kohia in March.

"I suggest also for your consideration whether it might not be desirable to let him complete his pah, and (when you have information that his men are all there) summon him, give him a few minutes warning, and if he does not lay down his arms, and submit himself to you, storm the pah, and take it, using every possible caution, which will not be found unnecessary."

(GBPP 1861:16-17)

Ahead there was a considerable learning experience.

The First Taranaki War had more in common with campaigns of the 1840s than with those which followed. At the war's end European forces held Waitara, but had lost the larger Tataraimaka Block south of New Plymouth, in Pakeha hands since it was purchased from the Taranaki iwi in 1847. The great issues between Maori and Pakeha were unresolved.

The 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act ('Confiscation Act') brought Pakeha military strategy into line with colonial ambition. This allowed the confiscation of land from Maori tribes, any section of which was in rebellion against the Crown. Henceforth the military struggle and land issue alike were to be resolved by dispossessing the Maori and placing Pakeha settlers on confiscated land.

The 1860-61 war may be divided into four seasons of varying fortune. The March 1860 occupation of Waitara by troops was followed by engagements at Te Kohia and Waireka and the Pakeha attempt to hold Tataraimaka. In winter there was Maori success at Puketakauere, Pakeha abandonment of Tataraimaka, the entrenchment of New Plymouth and the stand-off on Waireka Hill. In spring Pakeha forces again campaigned south and north of New Plymouth, to gain their first success at Mahoetahi in November. In summer the war was fought out at Waitara. A ceasefire was arranged in March 1861.

The interest here is on fortifications, but it must not be thought that military activity was focussed only on these works. A major part of Maori and Pakeha campaigning was directed towards the destruction of property and the means of subsistence of the enemy. In this Maori were probably the more successful. Their style of campaigning was more suited to quick raids and Pakeha farms were easily accessible from surrounding bush. The Omata settler Thomas Grayling (1862:108-112) lists 177 Pakeha homesteads burnt during the war. The location of



most of them is marked on Octavius Carrington's 1862 map, "New Zealand Province of Taranaki from Waitara to Oeo".

## THE FIELD

The region over which the war was fought is part of the Mt Taranaki (Egmont) ring plain of generally level or easy terrace country. Swift rivers and streams radiate to the sea from the mountain and its outlying ranges. In the north the Waitara River emerges from forested hill country not yet explored by Pakeha settlers in 1860. At New Plymouth vessels moored in the open roadstead, lighters working off the exposed beach. Small vessels were able to enter the shallow Waitara River mouth.

The rivers made transport difficult for troops whose bullock and horse carts were forever having to descend into river beds of stones and boulders. This was especially so south of New Plymouth where elevated terrace country was cut by deep river valleys. In winter rivers often flooded, as, for example, the Waiongana which Colonel Gold claimed would not allow him to go to the assistance of the Major Nelson at Puketakauere where British troops suffered their major defeat of the war. Everywhere rain quickly turned the light volcanic soil – and roads – into slush.

Beyond Omata the road was by way of the beach, ascending to the coastal terrace where an easier route was offered. Behind the narrow coastal plain are the steep spurs of the Kaitake Range. North of New Plymouth a cart road extended as far as Waitara across mostly flat country with few difficult climbs and descents. Here the coastal plain is narrow near the town and 7–8 km wide at the Waitara River.

An exception to the terrace country is the 100 m high Tapuae Ridge which reaches the coast in the Omata district, south of New Plymouth. With extensive views north and south it was a preferred location for Maori and Pakeha fortifications in the First and Second Taranaki Wars. This is the western end of high ground which continues behind the coastal plain to the Waitara River and beyond. Roughly coinciding with the bush edge, the escarpment offered elevated locations for Maori fortifications backed by good escape routes.

Where it was not brought under cultivation by Maori or Pakeha the coastal plain was largely covered in bracken as much as 2 m high. This was the ever-present environment for troops and Maori once they ventured off the cart roads and walking tracks. Tutu was common, with occasional groves of rewarewa, karaka and other broadleaved native trees, especially in the river valleys.

Away from the coast the hill country was clothed in dense broadleaf and podocarp rainforest. The Maori employed routes through the forest for access to fighting fronts. The troops did not venture into forest in the war of 1860–61. In the Omata, Bell Block and Tataraimaka districts fighting took place in a landscape already largely modified by European farming. Maori and Pakeha took cover behind gorse hedges; Maori demolished farmhouses to re-use the material in rifle pits and other works.



## THE FORCES

Pakeha troop numbers in Taranaki at the beginning of the First Taranaki War numbered *ca* 400 officers and men (Carey 1863:18), mostly 65th (Yorkshire North Riding) Regiment of Foot. The 65th had provided the New Plymouth garrison since 1856 – and after the departure of the 58th Regiment in 1858 were the only troops in New Zealand. In early 1860 there were also 23 Royal Artillery and 12 Royal Engineers at New Plymouth.

Throughout 1860 a number of other regiments were ordered to New Zealand, those taking part in the war being the 12th (East Suffolk) Regiment of Foot, the 14th (Buckinghamshire) and 40th (Somersetshire) Regiments – also the 57th (West Middlesex) Regiment, which arrived from India in January 1861 and stayed on as garrison in Taranaki after the campaign.

When General Pratt arrived in New Plymouth in August 1860 Pakeha forces in Taranaki totalled 2627 all ranks, two-thirds of them regimental troops and the remainder Naval Brigade and local forces made up of Taranaki Militia and Taranaki Volunteer Rifles (Carey 1863:44–46). Captain Pasley, Royal Engineers, who arrived with Pratt gives numbers through the latter half of 1860 and January 1861 (Pasley 1863:593). Effectives were 2000 in spring, falling to 1500 with the departure of troops for Auckland in November, rising again to 2600 in the New Year with the return of men from Auckland and arrival of the 14th and 57th Regiments.

Some Te Atiawa and Taranaki Maori fought alongside the troops. Maori fighting alongside Pakeha are numbered in reports of military movements. An example is Pratt's report on the October 1860 expedition to Kaihihi River where his force is said to comprise nearly 1000 Pakeha and 150 Maori (GBPP 1861:165).

Estimates of opposing forces are difficult because of inflated Maori numbers in enemy reports. At Puketakauere on 27 June 1860 a Maori figure gives 400 fighting men (Grayling 1862:93). In this case they were mostly Te Atiawa and Waikato, with smaller groups from half-a-dozen other tribes. At Mahoetahi on 7 November 1860, Pakeha forces totalling almost 1000 were ranged against perhaps 150 Ngati Haua and Waikato (Grayling 1862:93). South of New Plymouth, Taranaki, Ngati Ruanui and other southern tribes were not always outnumbered by Pakeha forces when they took to the field. In August 1860 250 troops at Waireka Hill confronted as many as 400 Maori dug in on the ridge to the south.

Throughout the war Maori forces were mostly local, with distant tribes sometimes strongly represented as at Mahoetahi, and increasingly in early 1861. Pasley (1863:571) gives a figure of 1700–1800 Maori in arms in north Taranaki in early August 1860. Half were Te Atiawa and “Waikatos” (the Tainui tribes of Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto) in the Waitara district, and half Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui at Waireka. The historian James Belich (1986:102–103) suggests that Waikato numbers peaked at 800 in January 1861. Native Secretary Donald McLean estimated 1200 Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui in the field at the end of August 1860, of which perhaps 800 were fighting men (GBPP 1861:126).

Before the war Maori lived in small kainga or villages, some of them fortified as pa especially north of New Plymouth where there was fighting among Te Atiawa in the 1850s. Outside the town Pakeha were scattered on their farms, with only one small village and hotel

at Omata. In 1859 Pakeha in Taranaki numbered 2700. In the same year the Maori population of the province was 3015, including 1385 men over 14 years of age (Fenton 1859).

## THE COURSE OF WAR

### THE TROOPS ARRIVE

British troops were first sent to New Plymouth in 1855 to reassure Pakeha settlers confronted by conflict among Maori tribes. Acting-Governor Wynyard sent from Auckland 250 men of the 58th (Rutlandshire) Regiment with a proportion of Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. They arrived on 19 August in the *Duke of Portland*. Landing the troops, along with 200 tons of military stores, two 24-pounder howitzers and a “field piece”, took place from 19 to 22 August. On the 24th the *Duke of Portland* sailed for Wellington to bring up troops of the 65th Regiment, the major part of which arrived on 6 September (Scholefield 1960 I:177).

Major C.L. Nugent in command of the detachment, wrote to the Major of Brigade, Auckland, on 31 August,

“The weather for the last six days has been wet, and I have consequently been unable to shift the encampment from its present place, “Mount Eliot,” to a more fitting spot which I have selected, adjacent to Marsland Hill.

The cutting down of Marsland Hill is proceeding with rapidity, and it will soon be in readiness for the reception of the iron barracks, if it is intended to place them thereon. I think, however, a more eligible situation might be selected.”

(GBPP 1860)

The arrival of the 65th from Wellington increased the garrison to 500 men. By March 1856 the 58th had departed. Troops of the 65th Regiment under Major G.F. Murray then remained as garrison in New Plymouth until reinforcements arrived following the outbreak of war in early 1860.

### *Mt Eliot*

Mt Eliot was the name given to a high point of land – and pre-European pa, Pukeariki – south of the Huatoki Stream mouth, overlooking the landing place near the centre of New Plymouth. In the 1840s and 50s the site was occupied by government buildings and a signalling station for ships using the open roadstead.

When the troops first arrived they camped here in tents. Fortification involved throwing up an earth breastwork around the top of the hill to enclose the existing signal mast and buildings. Mt Eliot provided a barracks for many years, as well as being a key strong point when the town was entrenched during the First Taranaki War. In the war of 1860–61 the Naval Brigade was in residence.

A contemporary pencil sketch shows the earth and timber defensive works, with signal mast, tents and building within the fort (Fig. 2). Mt Eliot is also depicted in a watercolour by Colonel H.J. Warre in the Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra (reproduced in Prickett 1981:27). His view looks across the Huatoki Stream mouth to the main





Fig. 2. 'Mount Elliot', from the south, showing earthwork and stockade fortification. At left can be seen the town defences. (Anonymous, pencil, Taranaki Museum.)



Fig. 3. Marsland Hill barracks and stockade, the signal mast can be seen at left, St Mary's church below. 'Dec 17th 1862 New Plymouth'. (H.J. Warre, pencil, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.)

gate at the east end of the work. There is a later panorama photograph of the fort in the Taranaki Museum. An early 1870s plan of buildings on Mt Eliot is included among Army Department files held in the National Archives, Wellington (AD1, 71/293).

Mt Eliot stood between lower Brougham Street and the present Queen Street–St Aubyn Street corner. It has since been totally removed to provide fill for nearby reclamations. No archaeological evidence remains.

### *Marsland Hill*

On Marsland Hill were the headquarters for imperial troops and local forces from 1855 until the 1870s and 1880s (Fig. 3). A pre-European pa, Pukaka, which once occupied the hill, is shown with double ditch and bank in an 1844 Edwin Harris watercolour of New Plymouth, held in the Taranaki Museum. The troops removed 40 feet (12 m) from the top of the hill to provide a platform for the military establishment.

A pre-fabricated iron clad barrack building arrived from Melbourne on the *Alexander* in June 1855 (Scholefield 1960 I:167). The barracks were for 35 years a landmark in New Plymouth. A plan is given in a letter of 1874 from Inspector Tuke to the Armed Constabulary Commissioner in Wellington (PI/23 Taranaki). In 1891 part of the building was removed to the slopes of Mt Taranaki where it still serves as a mountain hut at North Egmont.

Figure 4 shows the Marsland Hill military establishment. Barracks, magazine, guard house and well are surrounded by a palisade at the north end of the hill. An entrenched area on the ridge to the south encloses soldiers' huts and parade ground. The latter was known as the 'plateau'. On the flanks of the hill are hospital, married men's quarters, officers' mess, theatre, engineers' quarters and commissariat.

A description of the stockade is given by Sergeant Thomas Oldfield, Armed Constabulary, writing in 1872:

"The Stockade itself, although looking very formidable at a distance; is in reality a very slight affair, which would be of little or no use in the event of an enemy attempting to attack it; the palisading being formed of slabs from 2 1/2 to 3 inches through, nailed at the top and bottom to two rails, which are morticed into posts set in the ground."

(PI/14 Taranaki)

In the Mundy Album, held in the Auckland Museum, photographs show a light stockade barely 2 m high, without loopholes.

Marsland Hill was the focus of a signalling system throughout the First Taranaki War and for part of the second war. Canvas covered wicker balls were raised or lowered on the yards of a signalling mast. The mast stood within an earth breastwork extending south of the stockade on top of the hill (see Figs 3 and 4). At different times the system reached north to Waitara and south to St George's Redoubt at Tataraimaka. The Taranaki commanding officer Colonel Warre reported this system discontinued on 28 July 1865, by which time telegraph lines served instead (AD31/24).

The last imperial troops in New Plymouth, a detachment of the 18th (Royal Irish)





Fig. 4. 'Plan of Marsland Hill (Pukaka) New Plymouth'. (DOSLI, New Plymouth, 8722.)

Regiment, left Taranaki on 17 January 1870 and an Armed Constabulary guard of one sergeant and 11 men was put in charge of Marsland Hill (AD1 71/293). Most of the military buildings were by this time in a dilapidated state, the stockade itself being repaired later that year. The A.C. continued to use Marsland Hill throughout the 1870s. In 1874 much of the barracks was taken over to house immigrants (P1/23 Taranaki).

Marsland Hill now lies within a New Plymouth District Council reserve. (Map references and New Zealand Archaeological Association site record numbers are listed in Appendix 1). There is no surface evidence of the fortification. Archaeological deposits may be intact on top of the hill, on the 'plateau' to the south and on the hillsides below. Dumped rubbish is reported to have come to light during construction of paths which now encircle the hill. In the 1980s a metal trunk containing armourer's equipment was recovered by Roger Fyfe of the Taranaki Museum from 2.5–3 m depth on the side of the hill off Robe Street.

## THE SETTLER FORTS

Work started on the Bell Block and Omata Stockades before the March 1860 outbreak of war. They were designed and built by rural settlers to protect homes and farms and act as refuges. In the event, Maori forces so controlled the countryside that these intentions were not realised: virtually all homesteads outside New Plymouth were burnt down, stock driven off, and families forced to take refuge in town. For many years the two posts served military objectives, keeping a watch on enemy incursions in the New Plymouth area and acting as way stations for operations north and south.

### *Bell Block Stockade*

The Bell Block Stockade (sometimes 'Bell Blockhouse' or 'Hua Blockhouse') was built early in 1860 (Figs 5 and 6).

"A very general desire was manifested to erect rude but effective fortifications in several districts as rallying points; but the uncertainty that still exists whether the Militia (who are directed to be called out forthwith) will be permitted to resist aggression in their own homes, or be required to serve elsewhere, has delayed if not defeated the excellent proposal. The Bell and Hua settlers are unremitting in collecting the materials for a blockhouse which in addition to completely accomplishing the purpose for which it is designed, will serve as a signal station between the Town of New Plymouth and the Waitara."

*(Taranaki Herald 25 Feb 1860)*

The blockhouse building was designed by local settlers and completed under the direction of W.B. Messenger of the Taranaki Militia, a member of a pioneering Omata family (Cowan 1922–23 I:160). The cost of materials was met by the government (AD100 60/36). The best description of the post is given by the Omata settler and chronicler of the First Taranaki War, William Grayling:

"It occupies a commanding position, and presents an impregnable fort to any enemy devoid of artillery. Its length is 62 feet; width, 22 feet; height, 11 feet. A ditch surrounds the fort, enfiladed by two towers, 22 feet high, at its opposite angles. These towers are 11 feet square, and, similarly to the body of the building, judiciously loopholed, and rendered musket and ball proof..."





Fig. 5. Bell Block Stockade from the north-east, showing the blockhouse with two towers, stockade with tents inside, flag pole and signal mast, and accommodation huts outside. (F.H. Arden, pencil and wash, Taranaki Museum.)



Fig. 6. 'Bell Block Stockade seen through a telescope from Marsland Hill', showing the blockhouse with towers, stockade with tents, and barrack building and signal mast at left. (Anonymous, pencil, Taranaki Museum.)

The first expedition had started for the Waitara, the disputed land occupied by the Queen's troops, and the L pa shelled, before the blockhouse was completed. It was garrisoned by 50 Militia and Volunteers, and, for many months, no addition was made to the force. Eventually, 150 of Her Majesty's troops were sent down, who constructed an entrenched camp immediately adjoining; two 9-pounder field-pieces being placed in position. The force was not materially lessened during the war.

By degrees mess rooms and cook-houses were added, as well as a commodious guard-room, which was built at the Government's expense, and the roof of the blockhouse boarded and shingled; whilst the interior of the building was made comfortable by the addition of a floor, and bunks for the men to sleep in."

(Grayling 1862:87–88)

Grayling's account makes it clear that at first only the blockhouse was built, with the stockade added on the arrival of the troops. In early April Sergeant William Marjouram of the Royal Artillery set up a signal mast at the post (Marjouram 1861:191).

The garrison was at first made up of local forces, commanded by Captain Morrison. The Taranaki Museum holds the manuscript "Journal of Officer in Charge, Bell Block" for the period 11 July–14 December 1860. When General Pratt arrived in Taranaki in August 1860 there were 135 12th Regiment, 46 Taranaki Militia and three Royal Engineers at the post (Carey 1863:46). After the engagement at Māhoetahi and the new post established there numbers were down to 56 65th Regiment, 45 Militia and three Royal Engineers (Carey 1863:141).

During the war of 1860–61 skirmishes took place in the Bell Block district between the stockade garrison and parties of Māori. Both sides burned dwellings, destroyed farm produce and drove off stock belonging to the enemy. For example on 5 April 1860 four or five farmhouses were set alight, watched by their owners from the blockhouse (Marjouram 1861:194). Military movements and skirmishes are recorded by the *Taranaki Herald's* "own correspondent" at the post.

After the ceasefire of March 1861 troops other than the 57th Regiment left Taranaki. In December 1862 there were 23 of the 57th at Bell Block, along with local men (Warre 1878:165). When Waitara was abandoned in May 1863 at the beginning of the Second Taranaki War, Bell Block was the only Pākehā post north of New Plymouth until February 1864, when the European forces again turned their attention north of New Plymouth. Bell Block Stockade was abandoned in winter 1865 (AD6/4 65/4120).

The blockhouse and stockade at Bell Block are depicted in a number of contemporary paintings and sketches. Cowan (1922–23 I:161) provides two illustrations from drawings by Arden dated 1863. These are similar to pencil and wash sketches held in the Taranaki Museum, the more informative of which is given in Figure 5. The anonymous pencil drawing given in Figure 6 shows the blockhouse from the other direction.

The stockade was located where the present tavern stands on the hill top at Bell Block. An aerial photograph taken in August 1950 shows an earthwork apparently with three adjacent entrenched areas (Fig. 7). The site survived until 1970 when it was completely destroyed in a few days as construction began on the hotel buildings. No plan was made and no salvage excavation undertaken.





Fig. 7. Earthwork remains of Bell Block Stockade, August 1950. (New Zealand Aerial Mapping, 1784/5.)

### *Omata Stockade*

The second of two settler forts erected north and south of New Plymouth early in 1860 was built on the site of an old pa, Ngaturi, on the property of Mr Richard Julian at Omata (Fig. 8). The outline of history and archaeology given here is taken from my report on 1977 excavations at the Omata Stockade site, to which readers will have to turn for more detail (Prickett 1994).

The stockade was designed and built by settlers – Thomas Good initially planning the work and supervising construction. Preparation of the hill and ditch, splitting logs and preparing shingles and other work was carried out by settlers on militia pay and rations. A few settlers were paid by the government for carting and building. Captain George Burton was responsible for internal fitting out. In April a signal mast was set up. On 12 June 1860 the stockade was reported finished.

During the war of 1860–61 Militia and Volunteers at Omata varied from 54 to 73. After the defeat at Puketakauere on 27 June 1860 and the pulling back of troops from Tataraimaka, 12 Royal Artillery with two guns were added to the garrison. Captain Burton was the commanding officer throughout the First Taranaki War.

The stockade sometimes came under fire from enemy forces which remained in the



Fig. 8. Omata Stockade from north-east, 1975.

district until the March 1861 ceasefire. Nearby farm houses and other buildings were destroyed. In August 1860 a Maori party burned to the ground the hotel and most of Omata village, a few hundred metres from the stockade (*Taranaki Herald* 11 Aug 1860). On 23 February 1861 troops who arrived with provisions for the post were fired on from the old pa Te Ngahoro, over the gully north-west of the stockade. A skirmish took place in which Pakeha took the position and the Maori force retired to their stronghold on Waireka Hill (*Taranaki Herald* 23 Feb 1861).

A garrison was maintained at Omata between the wars and throughout the Second Taranaki War. One man was still on pay at the post as late as May 1866. Towards the end of its life part of the stockade was used as a school. In late 1867 a report was received that the stockade was being demolished by local farmers for firewood. Orders were then given that the materials be sold by public auction.

A detailed description of the work, with the illustration given here in Figure 9, was published by Colonel J.E. Alexander, who commanded the 2nd Battalion, 14th Regiment, in New Zealand from 1860 to 1862 (Alexander 1863a). Alexander visited Omata after the 1861 ceasefire. His description is published in my report on the site and is not repeated here. Other historical pictures of the stockade may also be found in the excavation report.



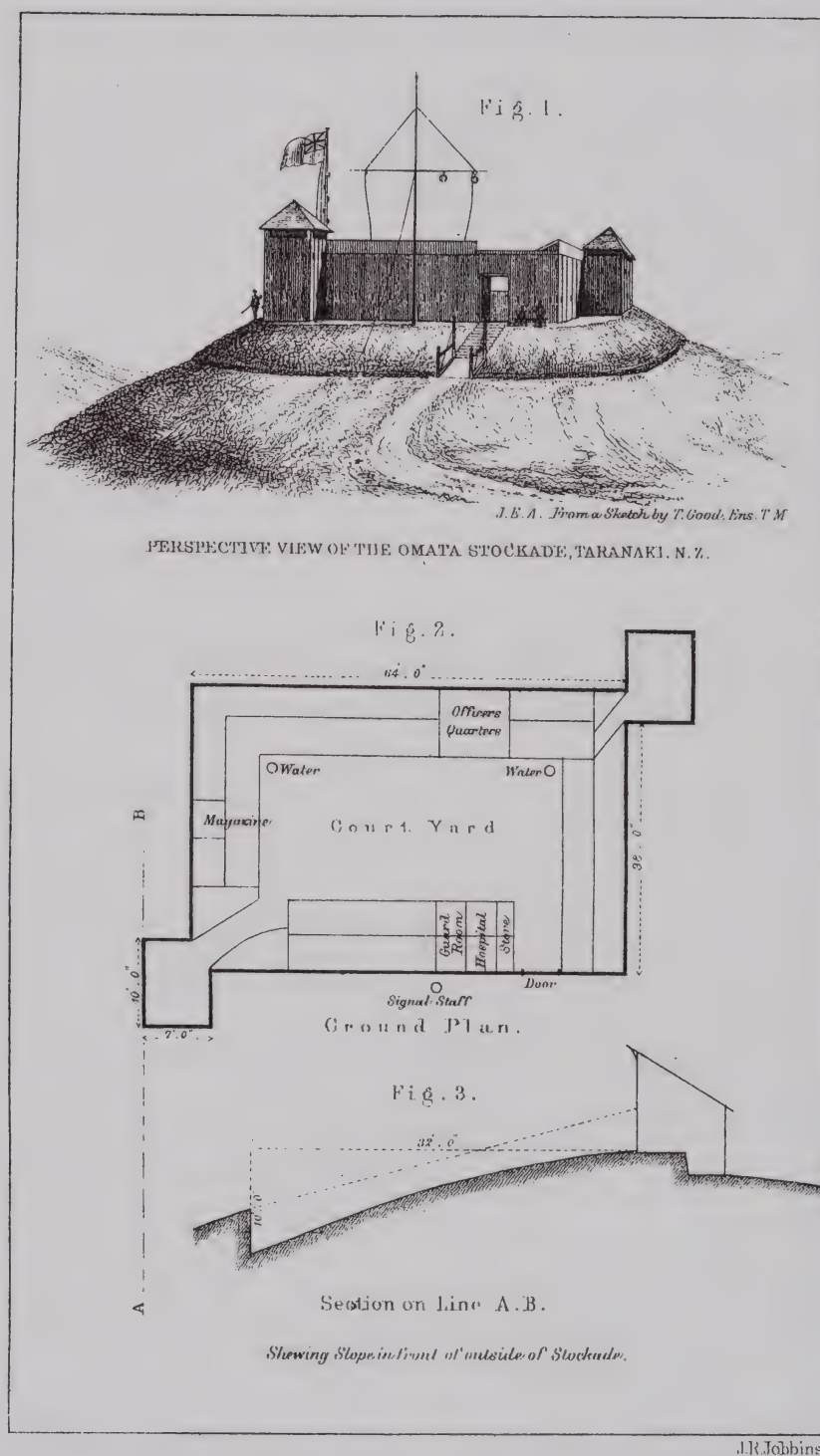


Fig. 9. Perspective sketch, plan and section of the Omata Stockade (Alexander 1863a).

The rectangular timber stockade of 19.3 x 12.8 m had two 3.2 x 2.3 m bastions at the north–west and south–east corners to provide flanking defence for all four sides. Inside, a small open yard was surrounded by accommodation for officers and men, guard room, hospital, store and magazine. The side walls had a single row of loopholes. Bastion towers had two rows of loopholes, and a third level of firing positions beneath the roof. Outside the stockade the hill was cut away to fall steeply into a ditch and more gently beyond, all covered by defenders at the loopholes. The site is now in a Department of Conservation historic reserve, located beside the South Road at the top of the rise out of the Herekawe Stream valley immediately outside New Plymouth.

THE OCCUPATION OF WAITARA

On 1 March 1860 Governor Gore Browne, and Colonel C.E. Gold who was in command of troops in New Zealand, arrived in New Plymouth from Auckland. With them were reinforcements of the 65th bringing New Plymouth troop numbers to 448 in addition to Militia and Volunteer units which were being rapidly mobilised (GBPP 1861:11). On 5 March the greater part of the troops marched out to Waitara to protect the survey of disputed land. There they established an entrenched blockhouse at the mouth of the river and a large redoubt a little inland.

In a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, dated 12 March 1860 (GBPP 1861:12), Browne briefly describes the military moves which were to have such incalculable consequences for Taranaki and New Zealand.

“My Lord Duke,

In continuation of my Despatch, Separate, of the 2d March, I have now the honor to inform your Grace that Colonel Gold marched to the Waitara with the troops as per margin on the morning of the 5th March, and reached the encamping ground about 11 A.M.

I reached that place in H.M.S. “Niger” about four hours earlier. Some boats from the ship landed at once, and my Private Secretary, Captain Steward, Lieutenant Blake, R.N., and Mr. Rogan, Native Agent, seeing no one, advanced to meet the troops. They soon, however, discovered a number of natives lying in ambush, well concealed.

After some talk with the Native Agent, who told them they were between the troops and the sailors, they retired, saying they would return.”

Browne listed the troops who went to Waitara as follows:

Corps etc.	Officers	Sergeants	Drummers	Rank & File
Staff	5	2	—	—
Royal Artillery	1	2	—	18
Royal Engineers	1	1	—	10
65th Regiment	12	22	9	313
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	19	27	9	341

During the night of the 5th Te Atiawa built a small pa on the disputed land to command the road to the soldiers’ camp. When an attempt was made to stop troops travelling to and from



Waitara Camp Browne despatched a note, "To the Chief who obstructs the Queen's road", threatening to attack in 20 minutes if the pa was not abandoned.

"This had the desired effect, and the pah (which was found to have traverses, and to be extraordinarily well designed) was burnt by the troops."

(GBPP 1861:12)

I have not been able to locate this fortification.

A second pa was built a few days later at the south-west corner of the disputed land. Here were fired the first shots of the war on 17 March 1860. This pa was named Te Kohia by Te Atiawa. To Taranaki settlers it was known as 'L-Pa', from its shape.

### *Maori settlements at Waitara*

Te Atiawa kainga at the mouth of the Waitara River in early 1860 are given in a number of sources. A "Plan of Pekapeka Block" by the surveyor Octavius Carrington, enclosed in a report from Lieutenant H.S. Bates (AJHR 1863 E-2), shows four settlements close together on the south bank of the river. From the seaward these are Te Whanga, Kuikui, Hurirapa and Wherohia. Except for Hurirapa all are marked as having been destroyed in March 1860. Figure 10 shows the location of the four kainga, and of the remaining kainga and blockhouse after the destruction of three of them.

Bates' report gives details. Kuikui, with approximately 200 inhabitants, and Wherohia, about 35, were occupied by Wiremu Kingi and his people and were destroyed. Waitara

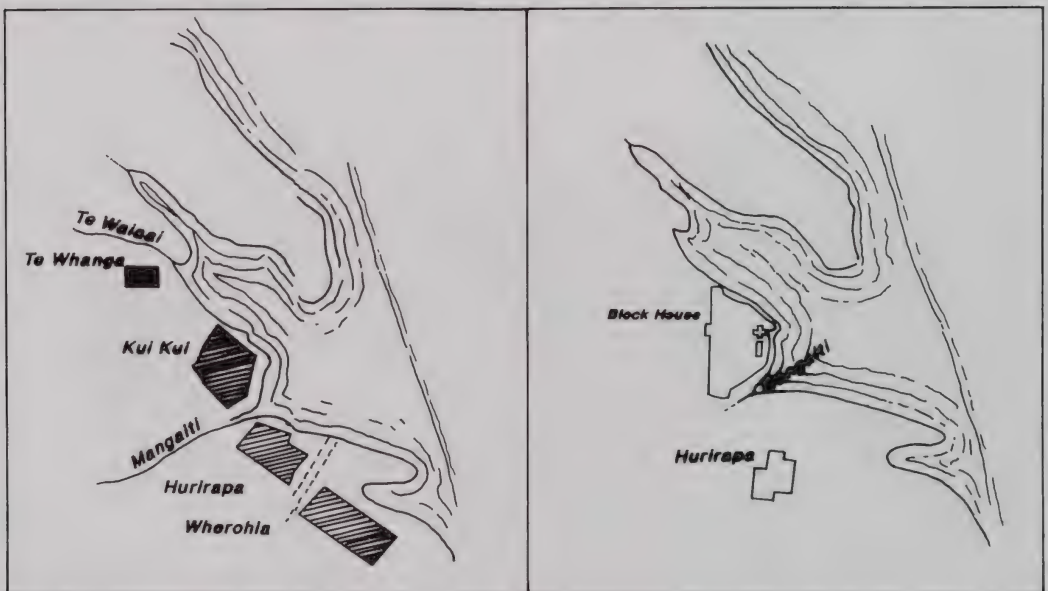


Fig. 10. Left: Te Atiawa kainga at Waitara before the arrival of troops in March 1860. Right: Waitara Blockhouse and Hurirapa pa, late 1860. (Redrawn from Octavius Carrington, 'Plan of Pekapeka Block', October 1860, AJHR 1863 E-2; and 'Plan of Peka Peka Block Waitara West District', 1939, DOSLI, New Plymouth, 104A).

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.  
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 11. 'Pah at the mouth of the Waitara River N.Z. 1861.' Shows Hurirapa from the north.  
(J. Phelps, watercolour, Auckland Institute and Museum.)

Fig. 12. 'Ihaia' a Pah at the mouth of the Waitara – from sketch taken by Lt Rees 40th Reg, 10th  
Sepr 1860'. Showing interior of Hurirapa with traversed trench at right and *Tasmanian Maid* at  
anchor in river. (Ink copy of original, Taranaki Museum.)



Blockhouse was established where Kuikui had been. Also destroyed was Te Whanga, which belonged to Tamati Te Ito and his people. Only Hurirapa remained, with a population of 30 or 40 under the leadership of Teira and Ihaia.

Hurirapa is depicted in a watercolour by J. Phelps (Fig. 11), probably Lieutenant John Shaw Phelps of the 2nd Battalion, 14th Regiment (Hart 1861:252), which arrived in New Zealand in late 1860. An ink copy of a 10 September 1860 sketch by Lieutenant Rees, 40th Regiment, shows the interior of the pa, with a traversed fighting trench at the right (Fig. 12).

In Fieldbook H&W6, Department of Survey and Land Information (DOSLI), New Plymouth, is a measured field plan of Hurirapa. This provides the data for finished drawings (such as the 1939 “Plan of Peka Peka Block Waitara West District”, DOSLI, New Plymouth), from which the plan given in Figure 10 is derived. The survey plan is not easy to reconcile with the various pictorial representations. The Phelps and Lees pictures date from some months after, however, and the pa may by then have been modified.

Two invaluable watercolours in the Taranaki Museum, by Captain J.E.D. McCarthy, 40th Regiment, show Hurirapa and the adjacent Waitara Blockhouse. Figure 15 depicts the blockhouse from the north with the pa at left. On “The Mouth of the Waitara from the Camp” – from the south – is written “Hurirapa Pa Chiefs Ihaia, Te Teira, and Big Jim”.

Hurirapa took up the high ground next to the river immediately south of Mangaiti Stream. The site is now occupied by 2 Norman St and 112 Centennial Avenue, and the adjacent street and riverbank reserve. No visible evidence remains.

### *Camp Waitara*

The troops established a blockhouse at the mouth of the river and a large redoubt a little inland. The redoubt was at first named, “... in honour of His Excellency, who was present at the time, ‘Gore Browne Redoubt,’ the name was, however, changed on the 19th of the same month to ‘Camp Waitara’” (Carey 1863:22–23). Camp Waitara was established on a low hill, the site of long abandoned Pukekohe pa, from which there was good command of the nearby river valley (Fig. 13).

Colonel Gold returned to New Plymouth on 24 March at the urgent request of the Governor who feared an advance by Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui from the south (GBPP 1861:24). The Waitara Camp Garrison Order Book, of which the Taranaki Museum holds a microfilm copy, shows that Lieutenant Colonel Sillery then took command. The Order Book gives Captain Barton, 65th, as commanding officer at Waitara from 6 April, with Major Thomas Nelson taking over on 28 May as detachments of the 40th Regiment began to arrive.

When General Pratt arrived in New Plymouth in early August 1860 there were over 500 men at Waitara, mostly 40th and Naval Brigade (Carey 1863:46). In October when Pratt’s column was operating south of New Plymouth the garrison was down to 250 rank and file (Carey 1863:119). On 22 October the senior Royal Engineer in New Zealand, Colonel Thomas Mould, took command (Mould 1863:99). On 19 November 1860 the Waitara garrison was again close to 500 men, still mostly 40th and Naval Brigade, but also with Royal Engineers, Royal Artillery and Militia (Carey 1863:141).



Fig. 13. 'Camp "Waitara"'. The redoubt from the north showing three entrances (with sentries), bell tents, thatched huts and two large tents (left), within earthwork defences. Guns are mounted at the right angle and two left angles. In the right distance are the remains of Puketakauere pa and the British flag flying over Puketakauere Stockade at Onukukaitara. (J.E.D. McCarthy, watercolour, Alexander Turnbull Library.)

On 10 December the headquarters of the 40th Regiment moved to Waitara under Lieutenant Colonel Leslie (Smythies 1894:376). By the end of the month almost 1400 men were encamped there, including Royal Engineers and Artillery, 12th, 40th and 65th Regiments and Naval Brigade (Carey 1863:145). On the 28th Pratt himself arrived from New Plymouth to take command (Smythies 1894:376). Throughout the long advance on Huirangi and Te Arei in the summer of 1860–61 Camp Waitara was the headquarters of the army in New Zealand. On 23 January 1861 the garrison stood at 390 men, and on 10 February, 585 including casualties (Carey 1863:163, 172). Camp Waitara was abandoned in April 1861.

A few days after the 19 March 1861 ceasefire a correspondent of the *New Zealander* visited the redoubt, his report reprinted in the *Taranaki Herald* of 13 April.

"It is pitched on the Southern bank, on rising ground, at a short distance from the river; the approach being up a gently rising mound, terminating to the Eastward with an abrupt descent, at the foot of which there are a chain of marshes that, at one time, appear to have formed the bed of the river. The position is well watered, strong, and judiciously chosen; it is entrenched on all sides, has latterly been greatly enlarged, and, at the time of my visit, was occupied by detachments of the 12th and 14th Regiments, Naval Brigade, and a portion of the Royal Artillery and Engineers."

The earthwork redoubt was built in two stages. In charge of the first stage was Lieutenant





Order Book 9 April 1860), probably prefabricated in kauri as were many Taranaki block-houses in the early 1860s. Construction was supervised by Lieutenant Mould, R.E. (G16/1a 2462). On 28 July 1860 the *Taranaki Herald* reported,

“The Block-house on the Waitara Point is all but finished, and is guarded by Captain M’Carthy’s company of the 40th, and Lieut. Kelly’s company of the Naval Brigade, with a six-pounder.”

In January 1861 Waitara Blockhouse was held by 50 men and on 10 February by 30 (Carey 1863:163, 172). After the war, until May 1863, the post was held by the 57th Regiment with local forces. When General Cameron inspected the 57th in Taranaki on 22 December 1862 there were 41 non-commissioned officers and men under Captain E. Gorton at Waitara (Warre 1878:165). At the start of the Second Taranaki War the 70th briefly took over garrison duty (War Office 0270.I:34). A decision by Governor Grey saw the land over which the First Taranaki War was fought abandoned on 13 May 1863. Teira and Ihaia were left in charge of the blockhouse with a supply of ammunition (AJHR 1863 E-2).

When Waitara was reoccupied by Pakeha forces in 1865 it was the old blockhouse which was used. For some years the small garrison operated a ferry across the river. It is not known when the post was finally abandoned. In 1869 it was reported that the blockhouse, with accommodation for 60 men, was “in very bad order” (AD35/12).

Waitara Blockhouse consisted of a wooden building surrounded by an irregular earthwork defence. Frederick Carrington’s Fieldbook I18 (DOSLI, New Plymouth) includes a measured plan of the building showing a regular cross shape with arms *ca* 16 ft wide and 26 ft long.

The McCarthy watercolours introduced in relation to Hurirapa show the blockhouse from north (Fig. 15) and south. The cross-shaped building has a corrugated iron roof and is loopholed high under the eaves. An earth parapet is present at the landward sides only. Tent lines can be seen at both sides of the building. The picture not reproduced here shows a cart going to the landing place just up-river from Hurirapa. A pencil sketch by surveyor Thomas Humphries in Fieldbook 3030 (DOSLI, New Plymouth) shows the post later than the McCarthy pictures, with an additional commissariat store building within the earthwork.

In the Camp Waitara Garrison Order Book is a, “Rough Hand Sketch of proposed Block House and defensible Enclosure. Mouth of Waitara”. This locates the cross-shaped blockhouse, gun platforms and other buildings within an irregular bastioned earthwork. Fieldbook H&W6, depicts, probably incorrectly, a T-shaped blockhouse, with out-buildings and a plan of surrounding earthworks, also two cross-sections through the earthworks showing inner drain, banquette, wall and outer defensive ditch. This forms the basis of a published plan enclosed in Lieutenant Bates’ report of April 1863 (AJHR 1863 E-2; and see Fig. 10).

Waitara Blockhouse was situated above a small tidal creek on the south bank of the river, between Te Waiaai and Mangaiti Streams. This was lower ground than that occupied by nearby Hurirapa pa. The blockhouse site is now largely taken up by the houses and sections at 116–126 Centennial Avenue, Waitara.





Fig. 15. Waitara Blockhouse from the north. Showing loop-holed blockhouse and tent lines within an earthwork defence. At left is part of Hurirapa pa. (J.E.D. McCarthy, watercolour, Taranaki Museum.)

### *Te Kohia*

On the night of 15 March Te Atiawa erected a second pa, Te Kohia, at the south-west corner of the disputed land. When the occupants refused to surrender, the pa was attacked, this being the first engagement of the war. An account of the 17 March 1860 engagement, along with the plan, perspective sketch and section drawings given in Figure 16, is given in Colonel Gold's despatch (GBPP 1861:16). Rocket tubes and 24-pounder howitzers opened fire from 750 yards, closing to 200 yards. On the morning of the 18th the pa was entered and found to have been abandoned in the night.

Memories of the 1845–46 war in the Bay of Islands quickly returned. Browne wrote to London:

"A pah which they erected in one night, and which was garrisoned only by about seventy (70) Maoris, occupied our troops two days to capture and destroy. A storm of shot and shell did scarcely any execution, and finally it was evacuated with trifling loss..."

Indeed it is not generally known that during the war in the north of New Zealand, the Maoris were always far inferior in numbers to Her Majesty's troops; but their deficiency in this respect was made up for by the strength of the country in which they fought. Their skill in forming traverses and covered earthworks in the pahs is also surprising, and most admirable; in fact, I am inclined to believe that shot and shell are thrown away on these defences and that nothing but an approach by earthwork will be found efficient."

(GBPP 1861:17–19)

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.  
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 16. 'Sketch of pah, destroyed on the 18th March, 1860.' Te Kohia, plan, section and sketches.  
(F. Mould, 20 March 1860, GBPP 1861:opp. p. 16.)

Sergeant William Marjouram, R.A., wrote of Te Kohia,

"The stockade was very strong and of great circumference, but the whole of the interior had been cut out into galleries, far below the surface, with roofings of split-timber extending throughout the pa from side to side and from end to end. Above was a thick layer of earth, having a small aperture here and there to admit air. The galleries were lined with fern, while the standing walls of earth were pierced with holes just large enough to admit a man, thus opening a communication throughout. The place had evidently been deserted in a great hurry, for we found potatoes, Indian-corn, dried fish, a war-horn, and several other articles."

(Marjouram 1861:195)

Experience at Te Kohia encouraged the cautious approach to attacking Maori fortifications adopted by Gold and General Pratt throughout the campaign. The study of Maori works by British engineers resulted in plans and section drawings of several pa taken in the war (see Figs 16, 20, 21, 27, 30, and 31). When Captain Mercer of the Royal Artillery returned to Auckland after the Waitara campaign he had pa defences reconstructed on an artillery range to work on the problem of breaching the defences (Lennard 1966:207).

A 1930 survey plan shows the location of Te Kohia in relation to modern roads and land boundaries (DOSLI, New Plymouth No 189). The pa was behind the present Brixton Hall in lower Waitara Road between Devon Road and Raleigh Street. It was situated on flat ground which has been much cultivated since. Some years ago the landowner showed me the site, and cannon balls which he had found there. No surface evidence was located.



### *Northcroft stockade*

In early May 1860 a company of the 40th Regiment, along with Sergeant Marjouram, R.A., and two gunners with a rocket tube, constructed a stockade, “after the Maori fashion”, in a ploughed field beyond Bell Block Stockade (Marjouram 1861:203). Marjouram was under orders to establish a signal station to open communication with Waitara Camp, the flagpole of which was visible from the new post (GBPP 1861:59), but presumably not from the settler stockade at Bell Block. After only a few days a scare at Waitara saw the troops ordered forward to boost the garrison there. The stockade was destroyed on their departure.

The location of this fort is not known, except that it was on European farm land, inland of Devon Road and west of Waitaha Stream. Colonel Gold reported that he ordered the troops to a “...commanding situation (North Croft) at the upper extremity of the Bell block” (GBPP 1861:59). In the *Taranaki Herald* of 25 August 1860 is a report of militia and troops going from Bell Block Stockade to the area of Paraite pa (on Paraite Road) inland of Devon Road, “...to the abandoned camp of the 40th, on Mr Northcroft’s hill”.

### WAIREKA

At the southern boundary of the Omata district the Tapuae Ridge is the highest ground to reach the coast between Parininihi (White Cliffs) and south Taranaki, giving wide views of the country north and south. The ridge was used by Pakeha and Maori for a number of fortifications in the war of 1860–61, and again early in the Second Taranaki War, and was the scene of fighting in both campaigns. On 28 March 1860 a fight took place around a pa called Kaipopo, on a northern spur of Waireka Hill.

### *Kaipopo*

Kaipopo was thrown up on Waireka Hill in March 1860, immediately above the then main road and the old Omata cemetery. In *The War in Taranaki*, Grayling (1862:23) indicates that work began on Kaipopo on the 26th. The Hurford Road settler Thomas Gilbert reports about 70 Maori starting work on the pa on the 27th, one of them taking a spade from him to help with the work (Gilbert 1861:62, 69).

Gilbert later visited Kaipopo and reported 400 Maori in residence.

“I saw how they had burrowed into the earth; first covering their square holes with rails, doors, and boards, and then putting the earth thrown out over them... I observed that the intrenchments were made on the town-side of the pah only... The pah itself was made of rails and posts cut from the fences near, tied with flax and some wire, from a wire fence close at hand, occasionally twisted in. I did not view it as a very formidable affair, but ugly and forbidding enough in its commanding position – especially as a steep hill must be ascended to get at it from the road.”

(Gilbert 1861:104)

The builders of Kaipopo used material from nearby Pakeha homesteads and fences.

Two days after the so-called ‘Battle of Waireka’ the pa was destroyed by men from the Omata Stockade on 30 March. George Jupp who was one of the party commented that they

found two pa, "... very strong with chambers underground where they could fire out without themselves being seen" (Jupp Diary 30 March 1860).

No surface evidence survives of the Maori works at Kaipopo. A former landowner, the late Mr W.S. Hamill, described to the writer dropping a tractor wheel into a pit or cavity, *ca* 20 m from the crest on the north side of the hill. It may have been a rifle pit or artillery shelter relating to the pa, or perhaps a *rua kumara*.

## TATARAIMAKA AND WAREA

On 20 April 1860 nearly 500 men of the 65th Regiment, Naval Brigade, Artillery and Engineers, under Colonel Gold, marched south to the outlying Tataraimaka Block to give settlers who had abandoned their farms an opportunity to harvest their crops. The force also reconnoitred as far as Warea, destroying Maori property and subsistence. When Gold returned to New Plymouth on 29 April 200 men were left to hold two positions at Tataraimaka.

In his report of 30 April 1860 Gold states his reasons for leaving troops on the southern block:

"It is now my intention to establish two permanent posts, of 100 men each, in excellent positions, which are capable of being maintained by settlers when the services of the troops are required elsewhere. By doing so I hope to restore confidence where it is much wanted, and protect much valuable property from being burnt or removed by the enemy."

(GBPP 1861:58–59)

The Tataraimaka garrison was made up of three companies of the 65th with two guns (Alexander 1863b:131–132). A history of the 65th Regiment tells us the detachments were under the command of Captains Turner and Strange (Broughton 1914:46). The posts took the names of their respective commanding officers (New Plymouth Garrison Order Book 3 May 1860). The troops at Tataraimaka were withdrawn on 29 June following the defeat at Puketakauere (Grayling Journal 29 June 1860).

The location of both posts is given on a map, "New Zealand Province of Taranaki, From Waitara to Oeo", by Octavius Carrington, dated 10 June 1862 (copy in the Taranaki Museum). On the map itself they are stated to be "blockhouses", which is most unlikely. The map key calls them "military positions". They were probably redoubts with tents inside.

## Warea

Gold marched south of Tataraimaka on 26 April. Beyond Hangatahua (Stoney River) a Maori settlement and mill were destroyed. Next day the force marched on to the Teikaparua River. Here was Warea, a stockaded pa south of the river mouth, and an old pa inland which was no longer occupied. Gold threw a few artillery rounds into Warea from the terrace edge north of the river – where five years and a day later the 43rd Regiment established Warea Redoubt. (Excavations at Warea Redoubt are reported in Prickett 1994). When troops began to move around the pa it was quickly evacuated and was then burned.

Gold's force spent the night at Warea. Gold himself says the troops camped in the old



pa nearby, also destroyed before leaving the following morning (GBPP 1861:58–59). Richard Brown, a militiaman who took part in the expedition writes, “The tents are pitched on an old Kumara ground, an earthwork thrown up and the cattle yarded inside the guns and carts” (Greenwood 1967:119).

Today at Warea there is surface evidence of pits which have been ploughed a number of times and of which little more can be said. The inland pa was probably all or part of Tarakihi, a very large fortification with substantially intact earthworks 3–400 m inland on the right bank of the river (see Prickett 1983). Tarakihi is known to have been occupied in the mid–19th century.

Warea was subject to an unusual episode earlier in 1860. Two days after the 28 March engagement at Waireka Captain Cracroft was ordered south of New Plymouth in HMS *Niger*. In his report (GBPP 1861:29) he describes arriving off the pa – “...or pahs, for there appeared to be two, surrounded by stockades”, anchoring about 2500 yards off with a heavy surf running, and opening fire with guns and 24 pounder rockets. People appeared in great numbers at one of the pa and fired at the ship with muskets in defiance. Cracroft claimed that shells and one rocket exploded within the stockades. A photograph copy of a painting showing the *Niger* bombarding the distant stockade is held in the Auckland Museum (Fig. 17).



Fig. 17. HMS *Niger* bombarding Warea, 30 March 1860. (Crombie photograph of unknown original drawing, Auckland Institute and Museum.)

*Mahainui*

After the April expedition the Warea missionary Riemenschneider wrote to Gold with information on other pa in the district (Carey 1863:51–60). Of three Taranaki iwi fortifications he was able to visit only one, Mahainui, on the summit of a small hill four or five miles inland in forest country. There was the usual double stockade, rifle trench and underground artillery proof bunkers. Riemenschneider writes of the Taranaki tactic of quickly reinforcing any pa under attack by way of inland routes through the dense forest.

Mahainui was located *ca* 800 m seaward of the important pre-European Taranaki pa, Tapuinikau. I am informed by Warea historian Kelvin Day that Mahainui was largely destroyed by giant discing in the mid-1970s and that all that remains is a small section of terrace along the east side.

*Fort Strange*

In the *Taranaki Herald*'s 13 October 1860 account of General Pratt's Kaihihi River expedition, it is stated that the force camped at, "...Bayly's farm, or what was formerly known as Fort Strange." Thomas Bayly owned 364 acres on both sides of Lower Pitone Road between Katikara River and Pitone Stream (Crown Grant Record Map/Wairau and Cape, DOSLI, New Plymouth). This enables us to name the two posts shown on Carrington's 1862 map.

Carrington's map shows the post to be close to Lower Pitone Road, *ca* 200 m from the beach, on the north side of the road. The location has been searched without result. It is likely, however, that the map is wrong and the post was at a more commanding situation on the south side of the road, near or at the site of St George's Redoubt, established early in the Second Taranaki War.

*Fort Turner*

Since Fort Strange is on Pitone Road, the site shown on Lower Timaru Road on Carrington's map must be Fort Turner. Archaeological evidence which fits the map location can be seen east of the road halfway between the Greenwood Road corner and the sea. A trench with unmistakeable signs of having been angled for gun defence encircles a prominent natural mound, dipping low on the northern side where terraces indicate living quarters (Fig. 18). Part of the hill has since been removed to provide a platform for a farmhouse, of which only the chimney now stands.

*Tataraimaka pa*

The enemy having abandoned Tataraimaka, Maori forces moved on to Pakeha farm land in the district where several pa were thrown up. Little is known of these. Taranaki settler William Grayling (1862:36) says there were, "...no less than ten strongholds on the settlers' grounds at Tataraimaka", but is probably exaggerating. The pa apparently included the two abandoned Pakeha forts, taken over by Maori forces (Grayling Journal 29 June 1860). At the end of August, Native Secretary Donald McLean reported 200 Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui holding several pa at Tataraimaka (GBPP 1861:126).





Fig. 18. Fort Turner, showing the entrenched hill from south, 1975. Chimney of later farm house at left.

In September Major Hutchins led a reconnaissance force to Tataraimaka and beyond. On Mr Greenwood's farm immediately over the Timaru River were found five pa with double stockades, strongly entrenched, extending in a line from the coast ("*en echelon*"), inland to the site of the erstwhile Fort Turner. These were presumably placed to contest the Pakeha return to Tataraimaka, or at least inflict a defeat on the returning enemy. They were, however, empty and were destroyed, as also were three kainga and a set of rifle pits (see Pratt's report GBPP 1861:148, and *Taranaki Herald* 29 September 1860). The location of the pa is not known, except at Fort Turner, the remains of which may owe something to Pakeha and Maori work.

#### PUKETAKAUERE

In June 1860 Puketakauere and Onukukaitara were thrown up by Te Atiawa and allied tribes on the sites of older fortified pa, on high ground outside the disputed land at Waitara. The earlier pa are shown on Frederick Carrington's 1841–46 map "Plan of Manu–Kori Pah... and Part of the Surrounding Settlement" (copy in Taranaki Museum). Major Nelson who was in command at Waitara reported construction beginning on 8 June with 40 or 50 men engaged (AJHR 1860 E–3C). On 19 June Nelson reported 200 Maori on the site. On the 24th a message

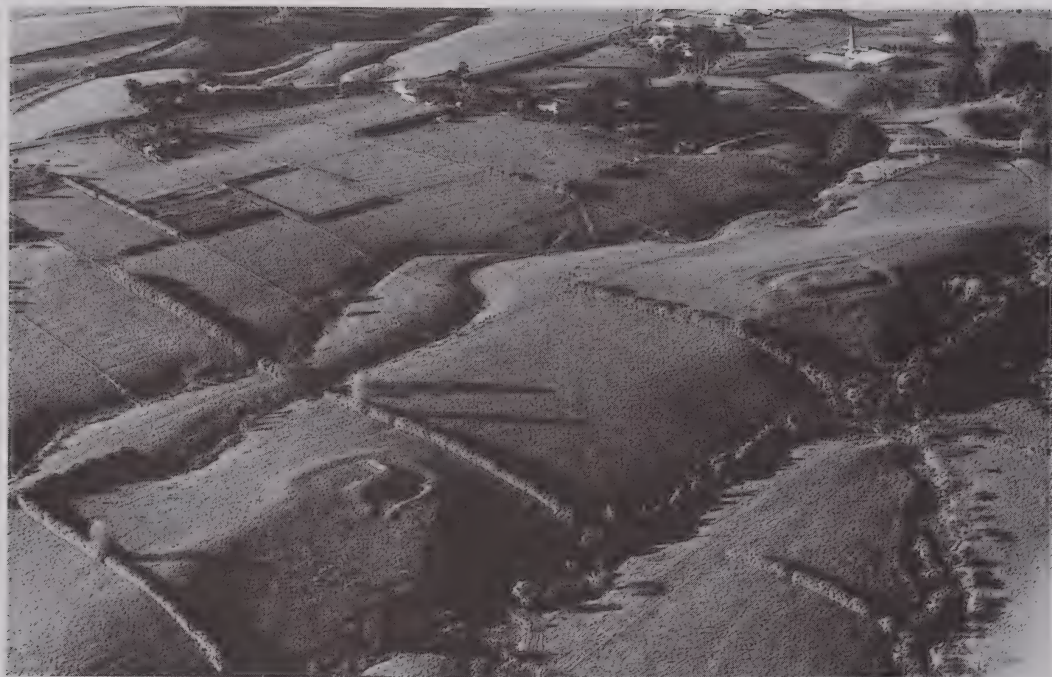


Fig. 19. Puketakauere (right) and Onukukaitara (Puketakauere Stockade) from south-west, 1975.

arrived from Hapurona, the Te Atiawa fighting chief, to say that he was not yet quite ready. The messenger, Methodist missionary John Whiteley, suggested Maori preparations would take two or three days more (AJHR 1860 E-3C).

An attack on the pa on 27 June 1860 by more than 300 of the 40th Regiment, Naval Brigade, Royal Artillery and Engineers was beaten off with heavy losses. It was the major Maori success – and defeat for European forces – in the First Taranaki War. Two months later the Maori garrisons abandoned both pa. They were destroyed by troops on 29 August (Carey 1863:85–86).

Puketakauere and Onukukaitara occupy low mounds *ca* 200 m apart on a spur which runs towards the Waitara River between Devon and Pennington Roads, and between the steep-sided gullies of Tutererua and Mataiaua streams (Fig. 19). Plans and sections of both pa by Lieutenant Frederick Warburton, R.E., were enclosed in Pratt's 8 September 1860 report in *Selections from Despatches and Letters Relative to the Conduct of Military Operations in New Zealand 1860–5* (War Office 0270.II:23–24; Figs 20 and 21). The two positions can be seen in a watercolour by Colonel Warre dated 4 March 1861, held in the Taranaki Museum.

#### *Puketakauere*

Figure 20 shows Puketakauere to include a stockaded platform 30 x 21–18 m surrounded by double ditch and bank. A correspondent of the *Taranaki Herald* (8 September 1860) reported one of the ditches to be nearly 20 ft (6 m) deep. The defended area was *ca* 585 m<sup>2</sup>.



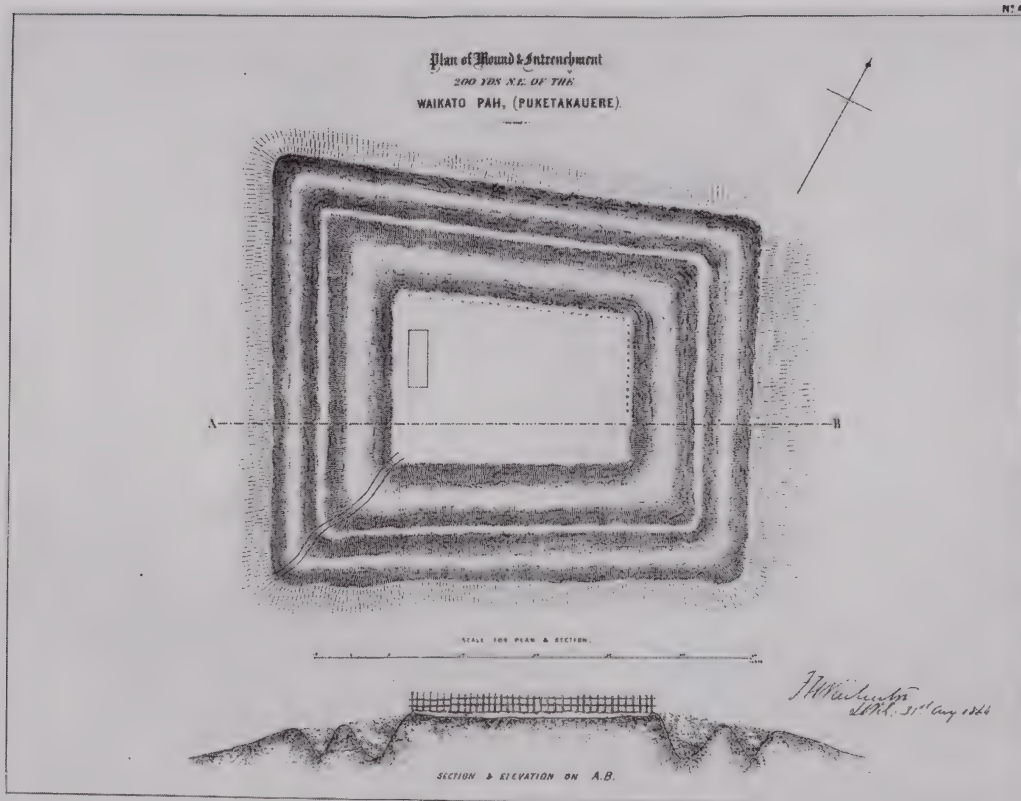


Fig. 20. 'Plan of Mound & Intrenchment 200 yds N.E. of the Waikato Pah, (Puketakauere).' Onukukaitara was thought to be garrisoned largely by Waikato. (Lieutenant Warburton, 31 August 1860, War Office 0270.II:25.)

The Maori work was occupied briefly by troops engaged in constructing the stockade on Onukukaitara. On the afternoon of 25 September the defences were thrown down and the site never re-used. The site appears not to have been greatly damaged since. In 1983 it was purchased by the Crown and is now a Department of Conservation historic reserve.

### *Onukukaitara*

Lieutenant Warburton's plan and section (Fig. 21) of Onukukaitara are supported by a written account by fellow Royal Engineer, Captain Charles Pasley. This deserves space here as a valuable general description of pa of the 1860–61 campaign.

"At the period of its abandonment by the enemy, Onukukaitara (commonly but incorrectly called Puketakauere) contained a quadrangular earthen redoubt about 22 yards by 18, with a command of 14 feet obtained by scarping the sides of the highest portion of the hill. This redoubt formed a sort of citadel to the pa. At the foot of the escarp, and surrounding the redoubt on three sides, was a trench for musketry (usually termed rifle-pits), about 4 feet in depth, and varying in width from 3 feet to 20, with traverses. Outside of the trench was a line

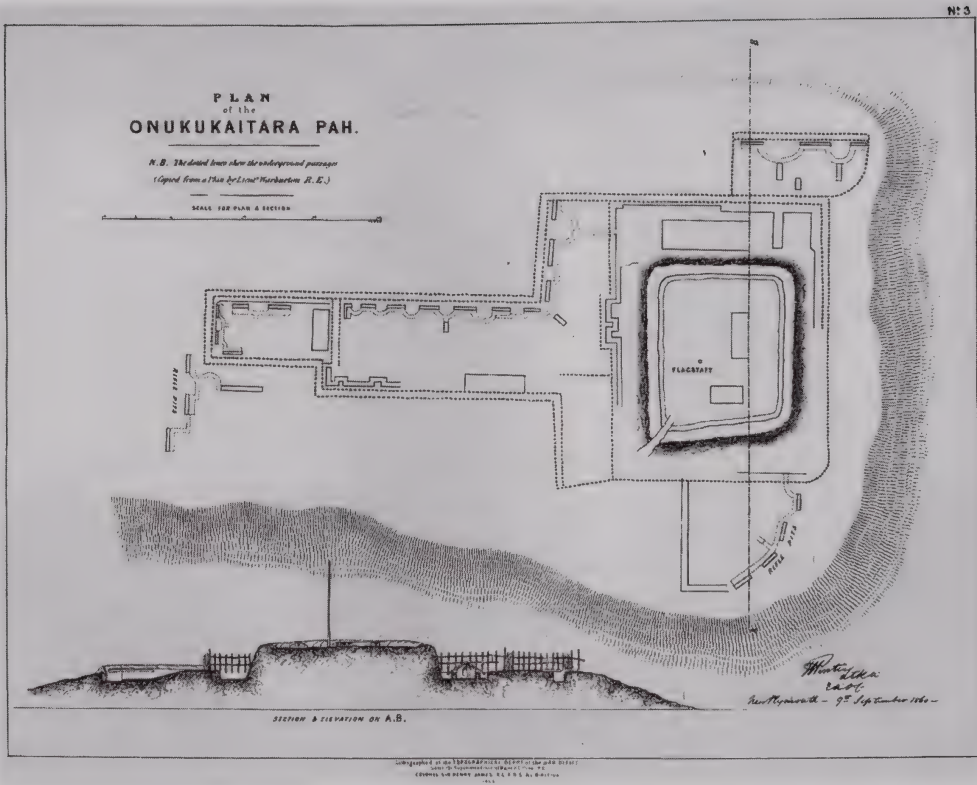


Fig. 21. 'Plan of the Onukukaitara Pah.' (From an original by Warburton, War Office 0270.II:23.)

of palisades partly double and partly single, but always sufficiently open to allow musketry fire from the trench to pass through it. At the northern angle was a palisaded outwork 26 yards by 10, containing a series of covered splinter-proof rifle-pits, connected by semicircular underground passages. A similar underground passage under the palisade of the main work connected the rifle-pits of the pa with the outwork.

At the south-east angle was an unfinished outwork, consisting of a breastwork and rifle-pits without palisading. From the south-western side of the redoubt an outwork, broken into flanks, and divided into several portions by interior palisading, extended for about 60 yards along the crest of the hill, surrounded by a double palisade with covered rifle-pits, some of which were incomplete. Beyond this again, towards the south, were a series of covered rifle-pits without palisading.

The design of the work was well adapted to the site, the strongest and best flanked defences being on the south-western side, where the hill rises from the plain by a gentle ascent. On the north-west and south-east sides the pa was protected by deep gullies, and on the north-east it was covered by Puketakauere pa, which was also in the occupation of the enemy, and which, notwithstanding its defective palisading, was capable of offering a serious resistance to an assault, and was so well covered by swampy and almost impassable gullies, that it would have been scarcely possible to attack it at all until Onukukaitara should have fallen. Both the pas contained several native huts, or "wharres," which were generally covered from distant fire.



On the 27th June, 1860, when the pa was attacked, 46 shells were fired from two 24-pounder howitzers at a range of about 400 yards without effecting a breach in the palisading. The rifle-pits were constructed in a very simple manner. A series of pits 4 feet wide, 4 feet deep, and 8 or 10 feet in length, were dug 3 feet back from the line of palisades. These were covered for about three-fourths of their width with split timber, over which was laid a covering of earth and fern 3 or 4 feet in thickness, leaving openings for musketry 1 foot or 15 inches wide along the whole length of the pits. Posted in these pits, the enemy were perfectly protected from horizontal fire, and in a great measure even from vertical fire, unless heavy mortars were brought against them. The difficulty experienced in effecting a practicable breach in a pa is chiefly due to the mode of fastening adopted for the palisading. The inner line is a regular stockade consisting of unhewn timbers, of dimensions varying according to the nature of the neighbouring forest, sunk several feet into the ground, and further strengthened by two or three horizontal ribands, to which every timber is firmly tied with a peculiar tough fibrous grass. Intervals of a few inches are left between the timbers, to serve as loopholes for musketry. The outer line is not so solid as the inner. It consists of strong posts firmly planted in the ground at intervals of 8 or 10 feet, and connected by two ribands, which carry a row of palisades raised about 2 feet from the ground, in order to enable the fire from the rifle-pits to pass under them. The whole is so firmly bound together by the tough grass before alluded to, that shot and shell pass freely through both lines, often cutting completely through the timbers without causing any portion to fall.

When an attack is expected it is the custom of the Maories to cover the outer palisades with bundles of the long leaves of the New Zealand flax, which offers some resistance to musketry, and serves in a great measure to conceal any damage that may be done to the palisades or stockade by artillery."

(Pasley 1863:568–588)

Warburton's plan has north to the top. The main part of the defended area is a square *ca* 37 x 37 m, some of which is elevated. Rifle pits joined by underground passages are behind the usual double stockade line. At one side of the high ground is a second, incomplete, traversed line of rifle pits. Two small extensions, one defended only by a trench and rifle pits, total *ca* 300 m<sup>2</sup>. A larger projection of *ca* 45 x 7–11 m (425 m<sup>2</sup>) extends from the west side, towards the easiest approach for an attacking force. The total defended area is *ca* 2100 m<sup>2</sup>. The archaeology of Onukukaitara is given under 'Puketakauere Stockade'.

### *Puketakauere Stockade*

In October a Pakeha stockade was built at Onukukaitara. This was to provide a view over the fern covered plain south and east, and house a signal station for communication between Waitara and New Plymouth. The fort was named 'Puketakauere Stockade' although located on Onukukaitara, after the name given to the engagement of 27 June. Colonel Mould's account of work on this post has much of general interest on the construction of stockades by the British army in New Zealand.

"23 October.— On the morning of the 23rd October, marched with a party of 110 men from the [Waitara] camp with a quantity of rough timbers in carts, which had been previously prepared, to the ridge on which the abandoned paha of Onuku-Kaitera and Puke-Takanere [sic] had been situated, and set out a stockade on the centre of the site of the former pah to accommodate 50 men, employing 60 men as a working party, with the remainder thrown out to cover the operation; one-half of the circuit of the stockade was completed during the day. The rough split timbers of the stockade averaged about 8 inches in diameter, were 14 feet

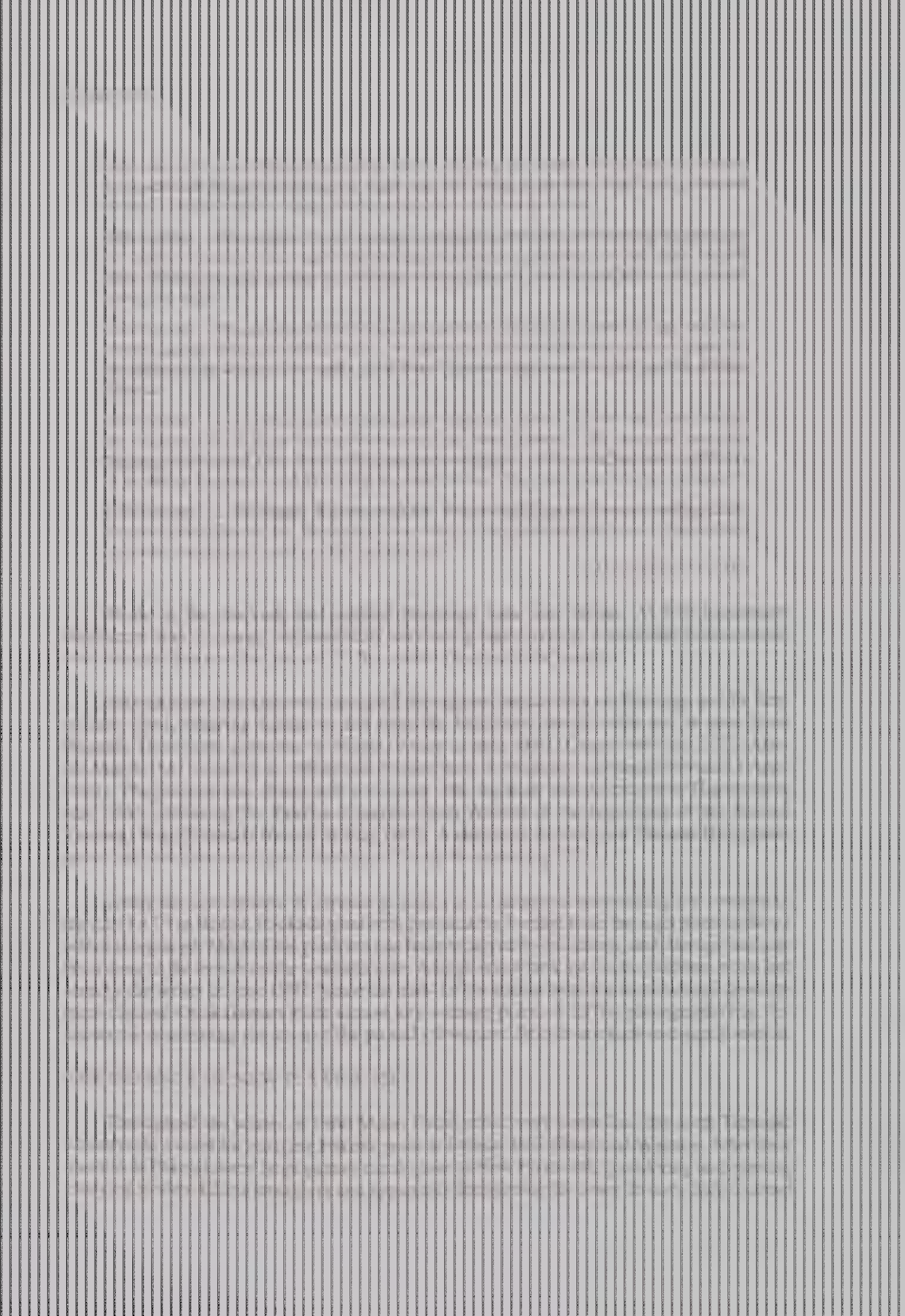






Fig. 22. 'Puketakauere from the Camp'. Showing Puketakauere Stockade with signal yard and flag on the site of Onukukaitara pa. Left are the ruins of Puketakauere pa. (Thomas Humphries, Fieldbook 3030, DOSLI, New Plymouth.)



Fig. 23. Onukukaitara (Puketakauere Stockade) from the south, 1975.

Gold, Major Herbert, commanding the Militia and Volunteers, and Captain Mairis, Royal Engineers, decided to enclose the town within a fortified line (*Taranaki Herald* 7 July 1860). The work was rapidly pushed ahead under Colonel Mould's supervision following the arrival of General Pratt in early August (War Office 0270.II:140).

The *Taranaki Herald* "Journal of Events" for 6 August reported:

"There is a general impression that an attack on the town may be attempted by the natives, and every precaution is made to meet it. The Light Company of the 65th were brought this evening from the Henui, and camped in Liardet-street, near the Wesleyan Chapel. The headquarters of the 40th were moved from Fort Murray and camped on the Market-Place, Devon-street. 40 men were left in the Fort. The different companies of Militia and Volunteers had their stations marked out, and all families living outside the lines were ordered to remove into town. The trenches are being vigorously proceeded with, and palisading put up in various parts of the town; gates are erected across the streets. The outlying piquet is brought in from the race-course and stationed in the trenches."

### *The entrenchments*

A "Plan of New Plymouth shewing the lines of Defence and outer line of Blockhouses" (War Office 0270.II:opp. 23) locates the New Plymouth defences. The trenches extended from Mt Eliot, along Queen and Robe Streets to Marsland Hill, from there to the Liardet-Courtenay Street corner, then down Liardet Street to the beach (Fig. 24). A southerly extension from Marsland Hill enclosed the soldier's huts and parade ground on the 'plateau'. Two 32-pounder guns were mounted behind a breastwork at the south end of the ridge.

Use was made of a short stretch of the Huatoki Stream gully for defence, but apart from that what is now the centre of New Plymouth was entirely enclosed by a trench and earth breastwork or palisade. There were six gates through the defences: Mill Gate in Queen Street, South Devon Gate on Devon Street at the Queen Street corner, Theatre Gate on Robe Street at the Fulford Street corner, Carrington Gate on Powderham Street immediately outside the present Taranaki Newspaper building, Wasley Gate on Liardet Street at the Courtenay Street corner, and North Devon Gate at the Liardet Street-Devon Street corner.

Outside the trenches was a ring of blockhouses, and various buildings and positions held by pickets. In the war of 1860-61 the latter included a ball-proof picket house located on the present Robe Street reserve, Brown's house at the site of the Apostolic church on Courtenay St, Ward's house at the corner of South and Belt roads, Hamerton's house at about 175 Gill St, and the Coleman and Shute houses on Rogan St. Most of these positions are marked on a 1938 "Map Showing Positions of Guard and Block Houses and Sentry Posts thrown out around Town of New Plymouth Maori War 1860-61" (copy in Taranaki Museum). Sentries were posted in other locations near blockhouses and pickets.

Rural settlers who were not manning the posts at Omata and Bell Block moved into town. New Plymouth was in a constant state of excitement as alarm and rumour swept the town. When an attack seemed imminent women and children would gather behind the defences on Marsland Hill and troops and militia manned the trenches. The *Taranaki Herald* reported on 4 August 1860:



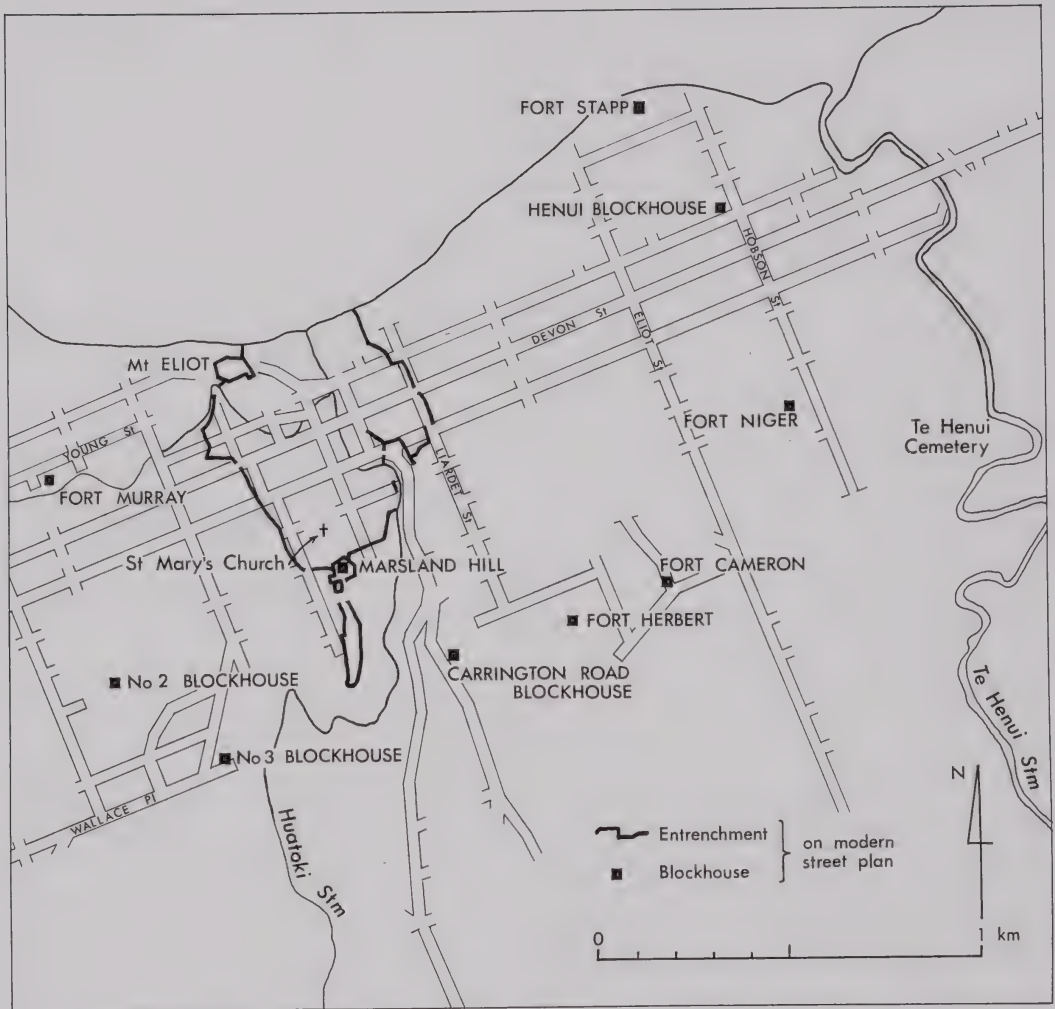


Fig. 24. New Plymouth entrenchments and blockhouses in the First Taranaki War, on a modern street map.

"At 10 o'clock this morning the alarm guns from Marsland Hill and Mount Eliot were fired, and the bugles called together the troops and militia, a messenger having arrived in town reporting that the natives were in force in rear of the Colonial Hospital in the Town belt, and that a combined movement was to be made on the town. Intelligence also in town that the troops were engaged on the Bell Block. The troops and militia under arms in readiness to move to any point. The women and children flocked to the barracks from all points."

### *The blockhouses*

The location of blockhouses around New Plymouth can be seen in Figure 24. All were established in 1860 when the town was hard-pressed by Maori forces. Most continued in use

through the peace of 1861–63, to be held again by strong guards in the early part of the second war. When it was clear that fighting would not return to New Plymouth they were abandoned, only a few remaining in use as barracks for troops and militia stationed in town.

New Plymouth Garrison Orders for 11 July 1863, early in the Second Taranaki War, gives details on blockhouse garrisons and pickets about the town.

"Detail	O	S	C	Dr	P	Corps
Main Guard	0	1	1	1	18	70th
Commissariat	0	0	1	0	9	57th
Prisoners piqt	0	0	1	0	3	57th
Prisoners piqt	0	0	1	0	3	70th
Marsland piqt	0	0	1	0	6	70th
Fort Niger pt	0	0	1	0	3	70th
Fort Cameron	0	0	1	0	3	70th
Carrington Rd	0	0	1	0	3	70th
2 Blockhouse	0	0	1	0	3	57th
3 Blockhouse	0	0	1	0	3	57th
Fort Murray	0	1	0	0	9	57th
Prisks house	0	1	2	0	15	
Boathouse pt	0	0	1	0	12	
Browns house	0	1	1	0	12	Militia
Northcrofts house	0	1	1	0	12	
Henui Block[hous]e	0	1	1	0	12	"

(New Plymouth Garrison Order Book 1862–64)

A "Return shewing the number of Blockhouses in the Province of Taranaki", dated 2 June 1866 (AD1 67/4307), lists surviving New Plymouth blockhouses at that date as Fort Murray, No. 2, Carrington Road, Cameron, Niger and Henui. In a similar list for 1869 (AD35/12) are Carrington Road ("Recently repaired. Provincial Govt property, at present used for Militia purposes"), No. 2 ("In a dilapidated state; belongs to Provincial Govt"), and Fort Murray ("In good order").

*Fort Stapp*

Fort Stapp was named after Captain Charles Stapp, adjutant to the militia and volunteer forces in the early 1860s, and later commanding officer of various corps in the Taranaki military district into the 1880s. Fort Stapp was situated on top of the low sea cliff in the present Mount Bryan Domain, off Octavius Place, and thus commanded the beach north and south. From manuscript garrison order books it can be established that the post was no longer used in the Second Taranaki War, defence in this section of the perimeter being now concentrated at the Henui Blockhouse. No surface evidence remains.

*Henui Blockhouse*

Henui Blockhouse was situated on high ground at the corner of Gill and Hobson Streets, and so overlooked the lower Henui Stream valley. The ground on which it stood was largely intact in the 1970s but is now completely cut away, to be occupied when last seen in July 1994 by "Corys Trade & Electrical Suppliers".



### *Fort Niger*

Fort Niger was situated on the present Fort Niger Reserve between Pendarves Street and Hobson Street. The hill was formerly the site of the Maori pa, Wharepapa. Fort Niger was established by the Naval Brigade off HMS *Niger* early in 1860, and was held by them for much of the war of 1860–61. It took up a key position at the corner of the area defended by six blockhouses north of the town. On occasions the Fort Niger garrison was given some excitement by Maori forces operating nearby.

“Between 3 and 4 this morning [18 August 1860], a blue light was hoisted at Fort Niger and the alarm bugles were sounded. The sentry at Fort Niger was fired upon by several natives at the distance of a few feet but who missed him. The guard, under Lieutenant Bent, R.M., turned out and gave them a volley when they made a precipitate retreat.”

(*Taranaki Herald* 18 August 1860)

Fort Niger occupied the top of a hill with steep approaches all around except to the south where there is a slight saddle to higher ground. A pencil drawing in the Warre sketchbook, Hocken Library, shows the fort to have included a T or X-shaped building within an earth parapet. On the 75 x 35 m hill-top platform there are today no surface indications of blockhouse or earthworks. Fragmentary glass and earthenware is eroding from steep hillsides below the platform.

### *Fort Cameron*

Fort Cameron, Fort Herbert and Carrington Road Blockhouse were situated at the edge of high ground behind the town. They thus overlooked the secure area within the line of blockhouses, as well as commanding the terrace country to the south now occupied by the racecourse.

Fort Cameron was named some time after its establishment in honour of Lieutenant General Duncan Cameron, commanding officer in New Zealand from 31 March 1861. It was situated on the present Ridge Lane close to the Rogan Street corner. No surface archaeological evidence has been found.

### *Fort Herbert*

Fort Herbert was named after Major Charles Herbert, commanding officer of the Taranaki Militia and Volunteers until February 1862. The blockhouse was no sooner completed than it was burned to the ground, at 3 a.m., 14 July 1860, reported to the Brigade Major by Herbert himself later that day (Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Letter Book). It was quickly rebuilt. When the militia garrison was withdrawn to man the town trenches in early August the post was occupied by allied Maori for the remainder of the 1860–61 war (Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Letter Book: 25 April 1861).

Fort Herbert was situated on high ground immediately east of the present Pukekura Park playing ground, where four or five shallow pits under trees 5 m from Claffey Walk may provide unique archaeological evidence of a New Plymouth blockhouse site. Rubbish in the vicinity appears to be of a later date.

### *Carrington Road Blockhouse*

Carrington Road Blockhouse – sometimes ‘Fort Carrington’ – was situated next to what was then Carrington Road (now Victoria Road). Frederick Carrington was the pioneer surveyor who fixed the site of the New Plymouth settlement in 1840. A sketch by E.A. Williams in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, shows an L-shaped loop-holed building on a broad platform surrounded by a low earth parapet (Fig. 25). An 1869 “Return of Blockhouses, Redoubts and Stockades in the North Island” (AD35/12) describes it as a “blockhouse and redoubt” with accommodation for 50 men.

Today there is a scatter of broken earthenware and bottle glass beneath regenerating bush within Pukekura Park at the top of the Victoria Road hill. The rubbish does not necessarily belong to the blockhouse period. There is no sign of earthworks.

### *No 3 Blockhouse*

The three remaining New Plymouth blockhouses were south of the town. Numbers 2 and 3 were on the edge of the scarp, from which they dominated the low ground to the north as well as the Huatoki Stream valley and the high terrace now taken up by the suburb of Westown. Fort Murray was between Mangaotuku Stream and the sea.

No 3 Blockhouse was situated on the edge of the high ground overlooking the Huatoki



Fig. 25. ‘Marsland Hill. N.P. 22 June [1864]. Taranaki.’ The loopholed Carrington Road Blockhouse sits on a platform behind a low earth wall. Beyond is Marsland Hill with stockade and iron barracks at right and huts on the ‘plateau’ to the left. (E.A. Williams sketchbook, Hocken Library.)



Stream valley and the Marsland Hill 'plateau'. The site is now occupied by Wallace Place and houses. During garden landscaping some years ago Mr and Mrs Kibby of 3 Wallace Place recovered military items including .577 Enfield bullets, clay pipe pieces (including a 'TD' bowl), buttons of the 40th (two), 57th (four), and 65th (one) Regiments, bottle glass including an intact French wine bottle and part of a case gin, a copper barrel tap ('W.RIGG/PATENT') and earthenware pieces including willow pattern. There are no surface remains.

### *No 2 Blockhouse*

No 2 Blockhouse was located on the terrace edge in front of (or beneath) the present Barrett Street hospital building. The 1869 "Return of Blockhouses, Redoubts and Stockades in the North Island" states that it had accommodation for 20 men. No surface evidence remains.

### *Fort Murray*

Fort Murray was named after Lieutenant Colonel George F. Murray, 65th, who was in command at New Plymouth from 1856 until the arrival of Colonel Gold in March 1860. It was built on the site of a former pa, Rungapiko, at 1–3 Duke Place (formerly the Mt Edgecumbe Street extension) off Young Street, overlooking the Mangaotuku Stream. A photograph in the Taranaki Museum which dates from late last century shows a defensive ditch encircling a small platform. Fort Murray is now completely demolished.

Fort Murray was a large blockhouse with accommodation for 50 men (AD35/12). Like others around the town it was occupied for many years by a variety of regular and local forces. In late 1866 it was occupied by the Military Train because of its stables (AD31/24). In October 1867 the buildings were sold for 42 pounds to the landowner, Mr Knight (AD6/12 67/614/1).

## RETURN TO WAIREKA

When news of the troops' defeat at Puketakauere reached Major General Pratt in Melbourne on 12 July it was at once decided to strongly reinforce the troops in Taranaki. Pratt himself arrived to take command on 3 August (Carey 1863:34–35).

In the meantime New Plymouth was faced with a threat from the south. The *Taranaki Herald* "Journal of Events" of 28 July 1860 reports as follows:

"Friday [27 July]. – a large force of artillery, 12th and 40th, in command of Major Hutchins, started early this morning to take up a position at Omata, to check the onward movement of the rebels. They were seen last night at Wairau, on the beach this side of Tataraimaka, and are believed to be above 1000 strong – including women and children, who have accompanied this expedition to attack New Plymouth...

4 p.m. – The troops are encamped on Jury's hill, on the site of the rebel stockade taken by Captain Cracroft, R.N., and his men, on the 28th March."

### *Waireka Camp*

The force under Major W.J. Hutchins, 12th Regiment, in one day threw up a large redoubt on the hill, all tents being pitched within the defences on the night of the 27th (Grace 1899:42).

The work became known as Waireka Camp – or the ‘soldiers’ camp’ to distinguish it from the settlers’ position at Omata. The Maori force dug in on the high ground to the south now traversed by the main road. Skirmishing took place daily. From the 11th to the 23rd August every wood or water party from the redoubt exchanged shots with the enemy (Webb 1914:279). Grace (1899:41–49) gives a soldier’s eye view of life at Waireka Camp.

Carey (1863:48) gives troop numbers at Waireka at the time of General Pratt’s arrival in Taranaki as follows:

	Field Officers	Cap- tains	Sub- alterns	Ser- geants	Drummers	Rank & File
Royal Artillery	–	–	–	1	–	11
Royal Engineers	–	–	–	1	–	5
12th Regiment	1	1	2	4	1	127
40th Regiment	–	1	2	4	1	103
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 4	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 246

Not all military opinion was convinced of the value of the position. Lieutenant Battiscombe, a naval officer stationed at Waitara, wrote in his journal on 26 August:

Tataramaka [sic] has been withdrawn, not being tenable. 200 men have been sent to “Waireka” about 5 miles from the Town, what for common sense can’t tell. They are completely isolated, no earthly use, and 300 men have to march out to them every sunday with provisions ammunition &c.”

Pratt shared this view (Carey 1863:85). When the Taranaki and their allies withdrew southward at the end of August their fortifications were destroyed. Pratt reported Waireka Camp abandoned and thrown down on 7 September (GBPP 1861:144; Grace 1899:53). Waireka Camp was re-used briefly for a day picket and signal mast early in the Second Taranaki War (Prickett 1981:66, 68).

Although Waireka Camp was occupied for only six weeks a very large redoubt with strong flanking defence was built. The earthworks are still distinct despite ploughing, at the corner of Waireka and Sutton Roads just over the fence from the Historic Places Trust plaque to the “Battle of Waireka” (Fig. 26). The redoubt is more than 50 m square, with flanking defence, itself almost 15 m square, at two opposite corners covering all four sides. It is the best surviving example of this classic form of military redoubt in north Taranaki.

The redoubt interior rises to a high point at the east bastion, falling away to the north and west. The bottom of the ditch is now 2 m below the east bastion, 1.2 m below the west bastion and 0.5–1 m elsewhere. A ditch as much as 8 m wide surrounds the work. Access was probably through the eastern or southern sides as these were rear faces. Access now visible across the ditch on the western side will be a recent farming modification since this was the front face and covered from nearby Maori positions. The site has been cultivated. A previous landowner, the late Mr W. Hamill, told the writer that the ditch was maintained by judicious use of a plough.





Fig. 26. Waireka Camp from the north, 1975.

### *Maori works at Waireka*

Major Hutchins in his report gives an account of the Maori works at Waireka which were thrown up on the high ground south of the present corner of Waireka Road and the main road.

“About eight hundred yards directly to our front the rebels burnt a dwelling-house, but left the stable standing on the edge of a gully, purposely to attract the fire of our guns, that they might occupy a number of chambers excavated in the precipitous crest of this gully.

The position of this was sufficient security from the explosion of shells, but to make them bomb-proof they were first covered with timber and then with thick layers of turf. This stable, with the chambers alluded to, surrounded with rifle-pits and two stockades, flanked by a deep and thickly-wooded gully, formed the left of their position. From this, at right angles to a gorse hedge about six hundred yards, ran a red line of earth that looked like a continuous breastwork. It was, however, a chain of rifle-pits, most of which were covered in, with room enough for a man's head and arms to work through. Those left open were in communication with the underground huts, made bomb proof in the manner I have related.

A third stockade, of larger area than those on the left of the rebels' position, was in rear of the centre, and each of these, in addition to a ditch and pallisade [sic], had the interior excavated. To our left, for about nine hundred yards, works of a similar character, with the exception of stockades, were thrown up.

Each of these stockades might have accommodated from eighty to a hundred men, but as the

gullies in rear of every part of their position sheltered a great number of sheds, the information from the friendly pah, with the extent of ground covered, made it exceedingly probable that the entire number of the rebels in permanent occupation was about five hundred."

(War Office 0270.II:28–29)

Colonel Alexander (1863b:189–190) has this to add,

"The works abandoned by the enemy at the Waireka Hill, six in number, were of the most ingenious construction, both as regards shelter from the weather and safety in retreat; near some of the pits were wharres or huts, where those not required in the pits could take their ease. It was the custom elsewhere for a few to occupy the works at night and make a noise by calling out, or with cow horns endeavour to deceive our people, but doubtless all were ready for a rush to the pits on an alarm.

Some of the larger pits were proof against shells, by a roof of trees, turf and earth, were hollowed out and provided with fire place and a chimney."

The fortifications at Waireka made up an unusually large work with three strongpoints and lines of rifle pits across a broad front, backed by a deep bushed gully. Major Hutchins was wise not to attack. The position was reoccupied in the summer of 1860–61, and only abandoned when the ceasefire was agreed in March 1861. I have not searched the area; there is a good chance rifle pits will have survived along the scarp above the gully south of the main road.

### *Burton's farm*

The Native Secretary, Donald McLean, reported on 29 August that Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui were at Burton's farm and Puketotara behind New Plymouth (GBPP 1861:126). Two days later he reported that there were 400 at Burton's farm where, "...it is not their intention to erect a pah, but to make rifle pits" (GBPP 1861:126–127).

From 206 m high Burton's Hill on Barrett's Road is a commanding view to the north, east and west. George Rutt Burton owned a small farm on the hill and was militia officer in command at the Omata Stockade. On the night of 4 September General Pratt took out 700 men to surprise the enemy on the hill, only to find no one there when they arrived. The best account is in the *Taranaki Herald*, 8 September 1860. Sergeant Marjouram (1861:250) who was with the expedition says there were only "temporary huts" on the hill. Colonel Carey (1863:88) says, "The foundations of a pah had been dug, and building materials had been collected". On their way home the troops burnt Manahi's settlement at Ratapihipihi.

### *Puketotara*

On 1 September 1860 troops and militia went out from New Plymouth to destroy Puketotara, occupied the night before by 'friendly natives'. Before that southern Maori or Waikato – or both – were in residence (GBPP 1861:126–127). Puketotara was high on the left bank of the Waiwakaiho River, 5 km behind the town. Colonel Leslie, who was in command of the expedition, reported the pa capable of holding 100 men (War Office 0270.II:28). He describes "...two lines of palisades, the inner one of great thickness." Behind the pa was a steep slope to the river. The troops pulled down the palisades, filled the entrenchments and burned the timber.



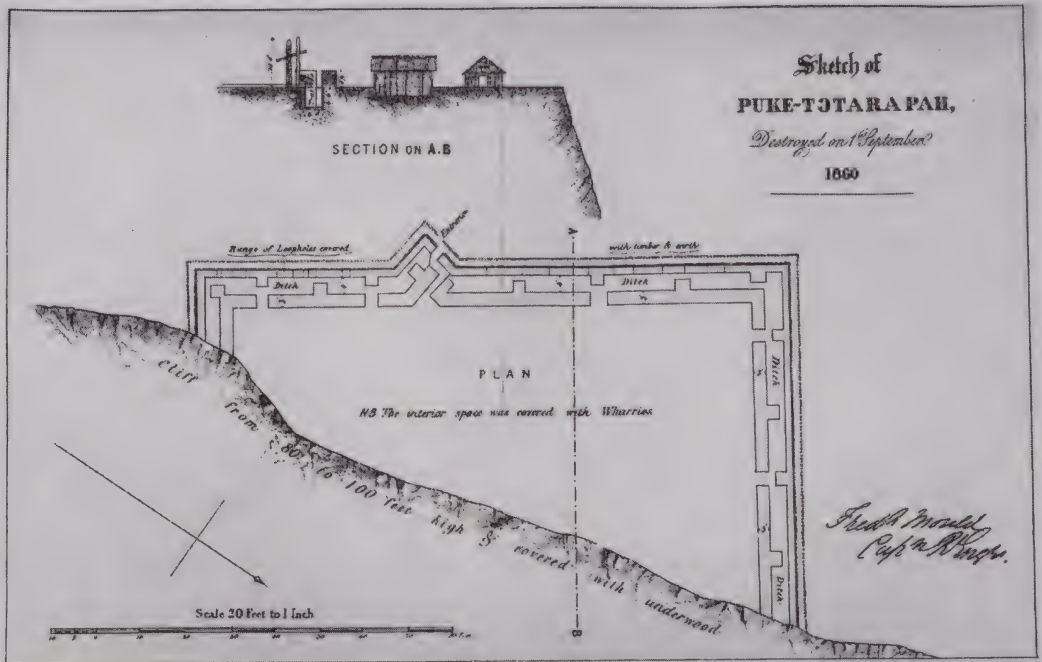


Fig. 27. Puketotara, plan and section. (F. Mould, War Office, 0270.II:29.)

With the troops was Captain Mould of the Royal Engineers who drew the plan and section given in Figure 27. The pa is shown to have been 52 m across the front and 6–32 m deep, *ca* 1000 m<sup>2</sup> in defended area. There is the usual traversed firing trench behind a double line of 10 ft (3 m) palisades. The trench was 4 ft (1.2 m) wide and 4 ft 6 inches deep (1.35 m). Behind was a 3 ft 6 inch (1.05 m) bank, while in front was a 2 ft 6 inch (0.75 m) earth bank against the inner palisade, holed in places for firing through.

Puketotara was east of Mangorei Road near the Karina Road corner, on top of the steep scarp to the Waiwhakaiho River. The exact location is uncertain. It may have been directly opposite the Karina Road corner where Puketotara Blockhouse stood in the Second Taranaki War. The place is now occupied by a two-storey house. A more likely location is the slight mound on the terrace edge, 100 m east of the road behind the house at 357 Mangorei Road.

## WAITARA AND BELL BLOCK

In early September troops returned to the Waitara and Bell Block districts (see Fig. 28). On 2 September a force under Major Nelson destroyed and burned the Te Atiawa pa Tima, Te Puke and Kaipakopako, all south of Devon Road and west of the Mangaoraka River (*Taranaki Herald* 8 September 1860). Ninia had already been destroyed on 21 August by militia from Bell Block Stockade (*Taranaki Herald* 25 August 1860). Tima is described as having a double palisade with trench behind; Ninia had stockades and trenches. Kaipakopako is said to have been an undefended kainga (Cowan 1922–23 II:511).

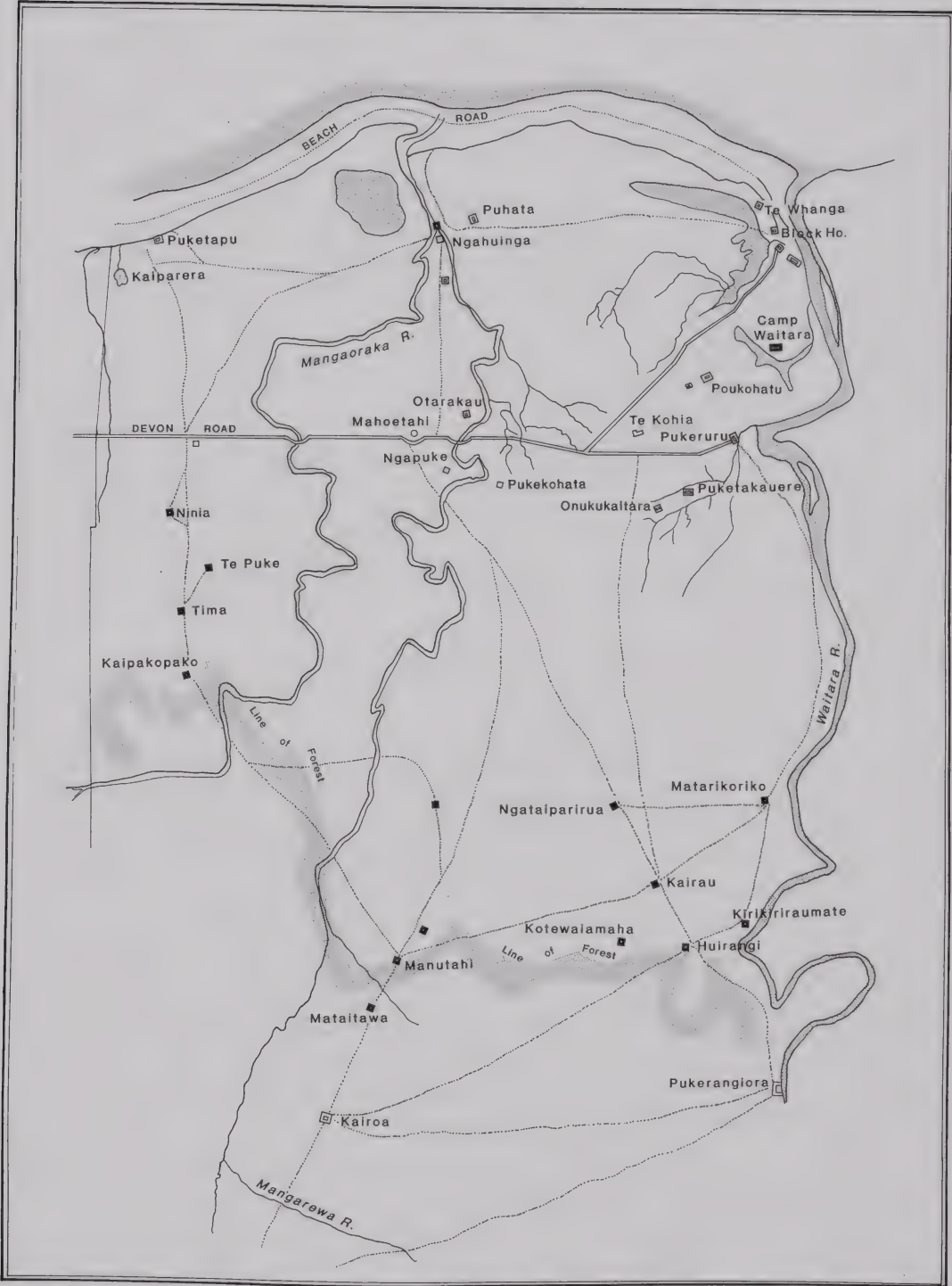


Fig. 28. Waitara, Huirangi and part of Bell Block districts. Solid squares probably show fortified pa of spring 1860. Also marked are other Maori settlements and old pa, the forest edge and cart roads and tracks. (Redrawn from GBPP 1861: opp. p. 144.)



On 3 September Nelson crossed the Waitara River to destroy Korihi and Tikorangi. The latter Nelson described as "...one of the rebels' greatest strongholds". Korihi is situated north of Faull Road between Ngatimaru Road and the Waitara River, not to be confused with Manukorihi on the high north bank of the Waitara River mouth. Tikorangi was not where the road junction and settlement now stands but further up Ngatimaru Road, below the hill.

On 11 September General Pratt took 1400 men to attack pa south of Waitara River. This was the area where, four months later, was the advance to Huirangi and Te Arei and the closing phase of the war. The first pa encountered was Ngataiparirua, west of the present line of Waitara Road. Pratt reported that although there were deep ditches the pa was not as strong as he had been led to believe (GBPP 1861:144). A few shells were thrown in but the pa was found to be deserted. It was destroyed and burnt.

The troops went on to Kairau which was about 900 yards from Ngataiparirua. It too was empty and was destroyed and burnt.

"This pah was understood to be occupied by Hapurona, W. King's fighting chief; it was very strong, and surrounded inside by rifle pits, and covered passages of the most ingenious construction."

(GBPP 1861:144)

Huirangi, at the bush edge 1200 yards beyond Kairau, was entered by Ihaia's people from Waitara who were operating with the troops. It also was found to be deserted and was burnt. Major Nelson then led troops to a small pa to the left (possibly Kerikeriraumati), but was fired on from the nearby bush and so withdrew. Another pa to the right was entered and burnt. This was probably Kotewaiamaha on the bush edge south of Huirangi.

### *Manutahi*

The best description of a Te Atiawa pa in this district is of Manutahi. A few days after the March 1861 ceasefire a party of settlers from Bell Block visited the displaced people of Ninia, Paraita and Kaipakopako, who were living at Mataitawa, on the present Elsham Road above Lepperton. Among the settlers was George Robinson from whom historian James Cowan (1922–23 II:511) years later obtained a description and plan sketch. Robinson states that Manutahi was located about the site of the Lepperton railway station, but in this his memory appears faulty for there is little doubt that the pa was on the other side of the Waiongana River where Lepperton is today, as shown in Figure 28.

Manutahi was sited as a fighting pa – at the forest edge with only one avenue of approach for troops who were known to be reluctant to enter the bush. The strongly fortified front was 100–120 ft (30–36 m) in length. The double stockade and traversed rifle trench behind were as has been described for other pa. Less usual was an 8 ft (2.5 m) deep trench between the inner and outer stockades.

### KAIHIHI RIVER

On 19 September 1860 a force of 12th and 65th Regiments, Militia, Artillery and Engineers, amounting to over 500 men, all under the command of Major Hutchins, marched out of New Plymouth to reconnoitre southward (GBPP 1861:164–166; Grayling 1862:42).

They camped the first night at the mouth of the Oakura River, where St Andrew's Redoubt was established early in the Second Taranaki War. Next day they moved on and camped south of Katikara River on 'Johnny's Flat', after destroying pa and kainga put up on the Tataraimaka Block since the end of June. Hutchins was under orders to avoid engagement with the enemy and returned to New Plymouth on 24 September.

Hutchins' report resulted in despatch of a stronger force early in October to attack positions held by Taranaki and their allies on the Kaihihi River (GBPP 1861:164–166; *Taranaki Herald* 20 October 1860). Pratt himself was in command of 1000 men. On the 9th the troops camped at Fort Strange. The following morning moving on to the terrace near the earthworks of the old Parawaha pa – still a notable archaeological monument on the coast north of Kaihihi Stream (Prickett 1983:16–20).

On 11 October Pratt ordered a sap, or attacking trench, dug towards Orongomaihangī, a pa situated within a bend on the right bank of Kaihihi River, and the strongest and central of three Maori positions (Fig. 29). This was a precursor of the much longer saps at Huirangi and Te Arei in early 1861. On the morning of the 12th the pa were found to have been abandoned

Pl. II



Fig. 29. Attack on the Kaihihi River pa, 11–12 October 1860, showing Camp Parawaha entrenchments, sap, and Orongomaihangī, Pukekakariki and Mataiaio pa and rifle pits (Mould 1863).



and were destroyed. The force returned to New Plymouth the next day. The Kaihihi River expedition proved the last military foray south of New Plymouth in the 1860–61 war.

### *Orongomaihangai*

Figure 30 gives a plan and section of Orongomaihangai. Colonel Mould (1863:98) describes the pa as consisting of,

“...the ordinary two rows of palisades covered with bundles of green flax, then the rifle pits well traversed, backed immediately by the high earthen bank of a pa so old that trees were growing on the summit thereof.”

The drawing gives the palisade height as 9 ft (2.7 m), and depth of rifle pits 6 ft (1.8 m). The bank behind is 6 ft high. The plan shows the fortification to be *ca* 55 m across and a maximum of 47 m deep from the bastion angle. The defended area is *ca* 1200 m<sup>2</sup>. Rifle pits are 6 and 9 ft across.

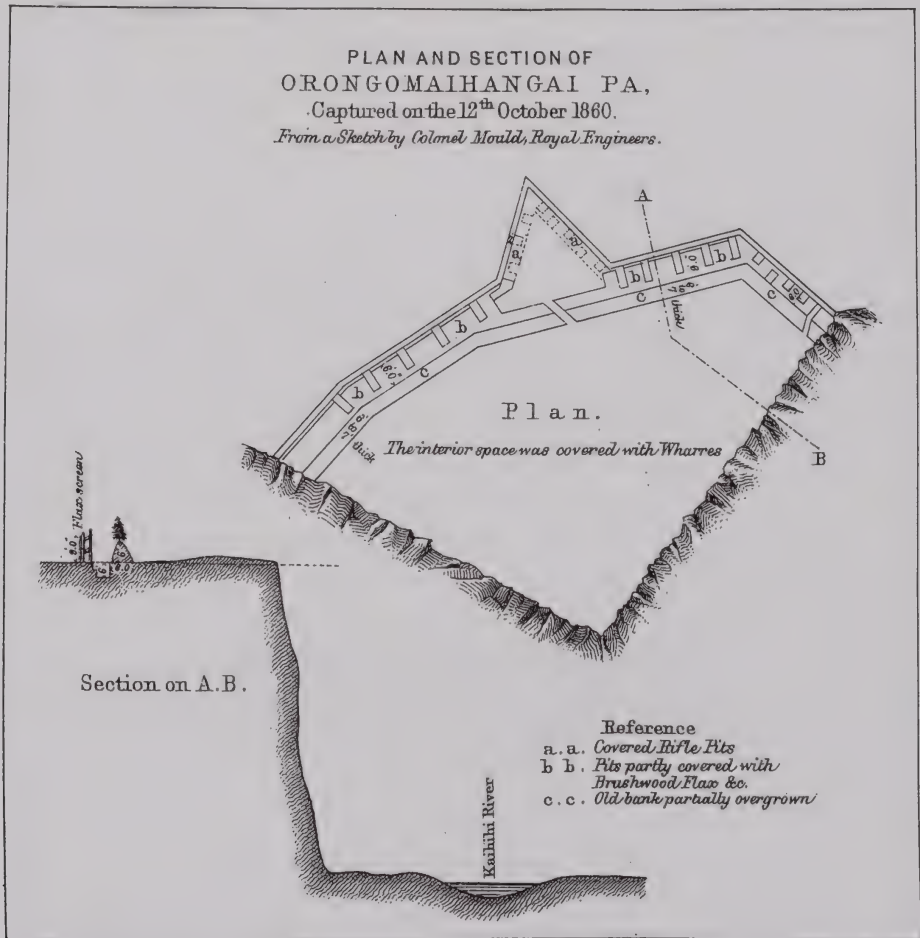


Fig. 30. 'Plan and section of Orongomaihangai pa, Captured on the 12th October 1860. From a Sketch by Colonel Mould, Royal Engineers.' (Pasley 1863).

Orongomaihangī occupies a high point commanding a terrace which falls away at the front, dipping out of sight *ca* 200 m from the pa. It was from the obscured ground that Pratt commenced his sap. At the rear of the pa is a steep descent to the Kaihihi River. Part of this is cliff, but part is an easily negotiable slope down which the garrison made its escape on the night of 11 October 1860.

Field evidence shows the pa to be *ca* 52 m across, and 40 m deep where the remains of the pointed bastion depicted in Mould's plan can still be seen on ploughed ground. In June 1993 a fence divided the site between cultivated ground and the rear part now overgrown with long grass, gorse, blackberry, kawakawa, cabbage trees and the stumps of several pine trees.

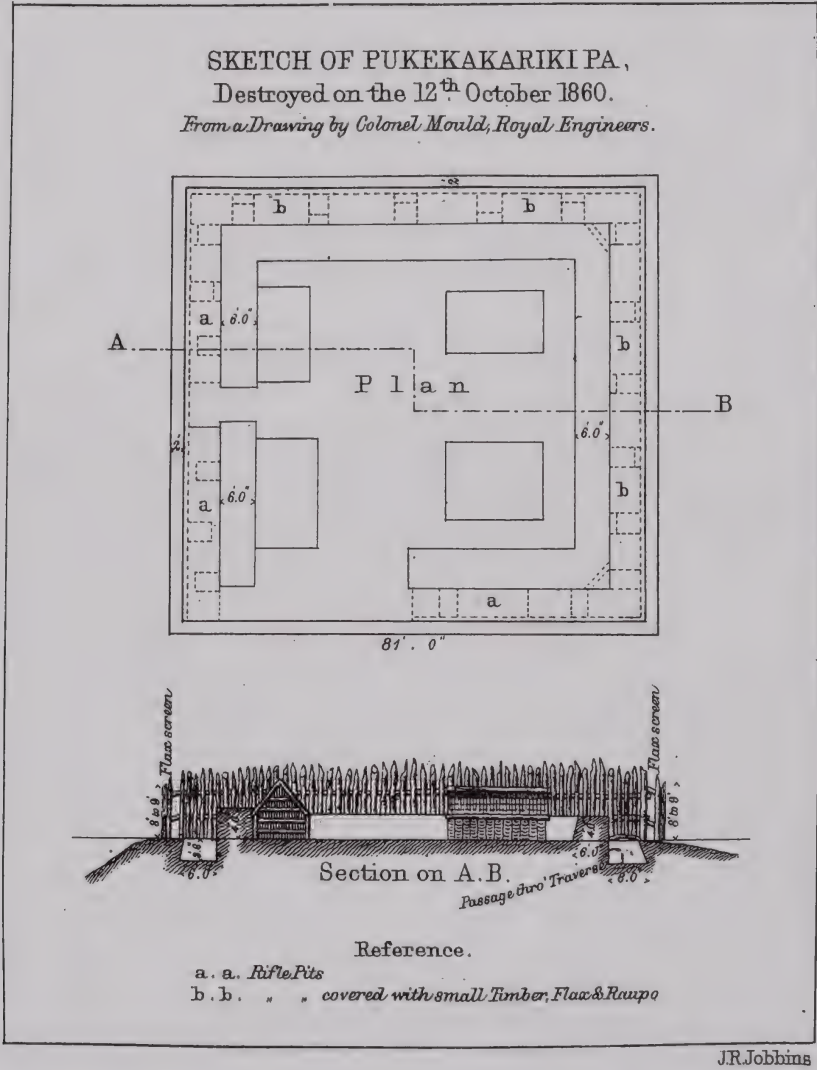


Fig. 31. 'Sketch of Pukekakariki Pa, Destroyed on the 12th October 1860. From a drawing by Colonel Mould, Royal Engineers.' (Pasley 1863).



Difficult to follow beneath all this was a trench or series of pits, *ca* 1 m deep at the front and 2–2.5 m deep at the rear. On Mould's plan is the remark, "The interior space was covered with Wharres". The field evidence suggests these covered bomb-proof shelters. The rear of the pa is *ca* 3 m higher than the forward bastion.

### *Pukekakariki*

The plan published by Captain Pasley (Fig. 31) shows Pukekakariki to have been *ca* 25 m square, enclosing an area 22 x 21 m (*ca* 460 m<sup>2</sup>). It is defended by two 8–9 ft (2.4–2.7 m) palisades and a flax screen. Inside are rifle pits 3 ft 6 inches (1.05 m) deep and 6 ft (1.8 m) across, backed by an earth bank 6 ft wide and 4 ft (1.2 m) high. Two sides appear to have had open rifle pits, and two – presumably the northern forward faces where an attack might be expected – had pits covered with timber and flax. Four huts are shown inside.

Pukekakariki is on a low hill with easy approaches, *ca* 10 m above the surrounding terrace country, south of the seaward end of Hampton Road. The site has been largely destroyed by construction of a farm house and other buildings on the northern slope of the hill. Remaining surface features show rifle pits along what was the west side of the pa, immediately outside the garden fence (Fig. 32). There is an 8 m gap between two surviving traverses. When the writer visited in June 1993 recent earthworks had cut into the south end of this side of the pa beside the main farm race, to reveal two infilled trenches or pits in the clean new section.



Fig. 32. Pukekakariki, showing the zig-zag rifle trench and two traverses, 1993.

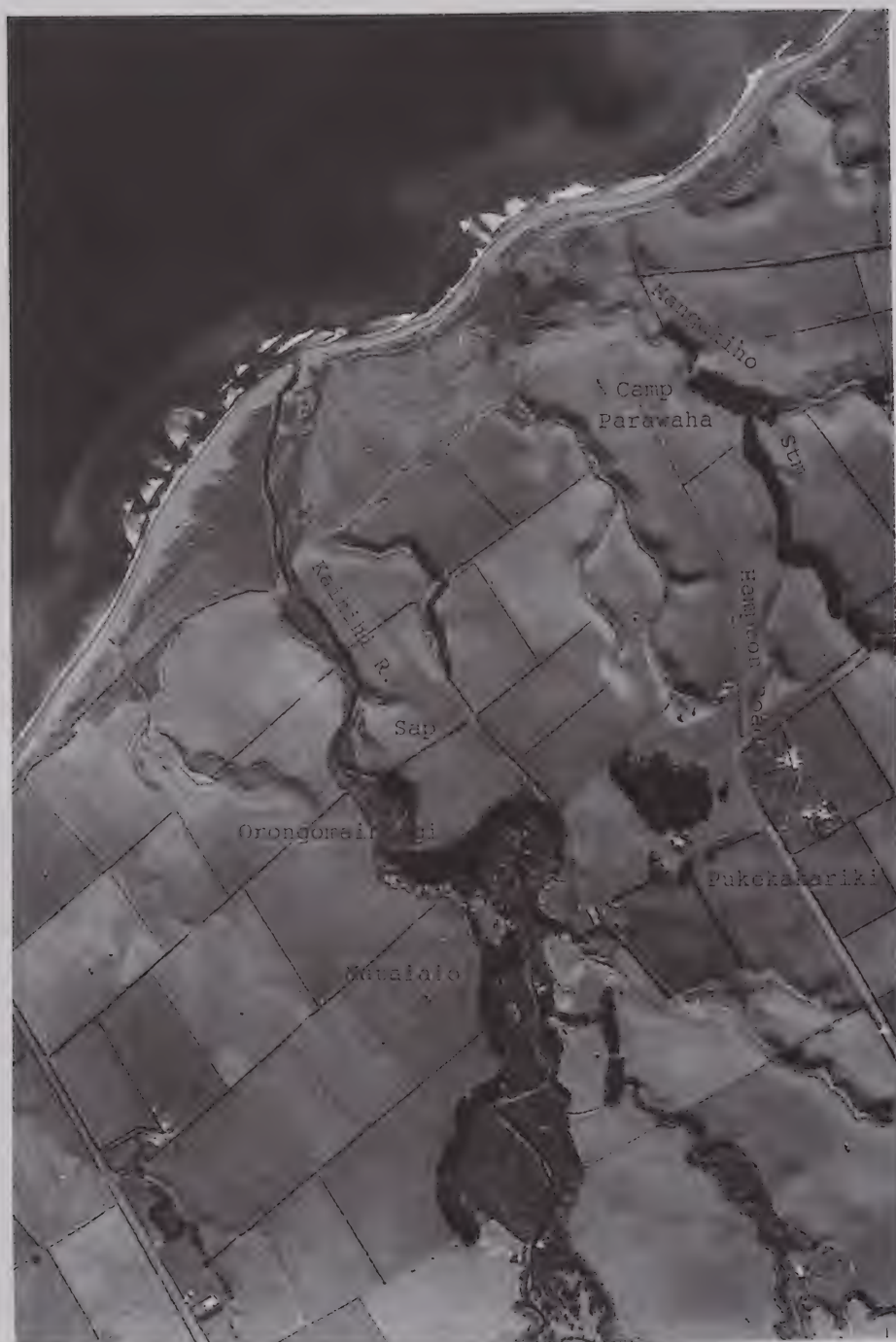


Fig. 33. 1950 aerial photograph showing Mataiaio, the main Camp Parawaha entrenchment (left of road above label), part of Pukekakariki (since largely destroyed), and the locations of Orongomaihangiri and sap. On the coast is the historic pa, Parawaha. The old coast road can be seen between the pa and Pratt's 1860 camp. (New Zealand Aerial Mapping, 1790/3.)



### *Mataiaio*

Mataiaio was also a rectangular fortification. Surface evidence has been largely destroyed by ploughing, although the defensive ditch may still be traced on the ground, or seen from the air when conditions allow (Fig. 33). Field evidence shows the pa to have been *ca* 30 x 50 m in plan, 1–200 m south-east of the position given in Colonel Mould's map. An escape trench connects Mataiaio with the outer defensive ditch of a much older pa which cut off a nearby sharp bend of the Kaihihi River (Prickett 1983:32–35).

### *Camp Parawaha*

Writing to the Military Secretary, Auckland, on 12 October, Pratt gives his address as "Camp Parawaha" (War Office 0270.II:30). The position was defended by three lengths of defensive earthworks thrown up around a wide area separated by gullies (see Fig. 29). William Grayling (*Taranaki Herald* 20 October 1860) gives the disposition of troops at Camp Parawaha, and labels the strongpoint over the gully to the south "Fort Urquhart", after the officer in charge.

Of the Camp Parawaha earthworks only the long central section can still be seen, despite much cultivation, as it crosses the broad terrace at the end of Hampton Road (Fig. 33). Porikapa's pa Parawaha, which was occupied by the Maori force accompanying Pratt, is still in good order on the coast nearby. (And is described on pages 16–19 in my 1983 report on pa in the Okato district).

### *Orongomaihangī sap*

The map of operations on the Kaihihi River shows a considerable length of sap and parallel for little more than a day's work. Colonel Mould, in charge of the Royal Engineers at Kaihihi River, describes working and covering parties and the guns brought up when parallels had been prepared (Mould 1863:96–99). No surface evidence remains of the sap, with the possible exception of faint indications of part of the parallel on high ground next to the river, *ca* 200 m in front of Orongomaihangī.

## MAHOETAHI

The last five months of the 1860–61 war were fought north of New Plymouth. In late October it was decided to secure the Devon Road from New Plymouth to Waitara by establishment of a position on the low hill and old pa known as 'Mahoetahi', which stood between the Waiongana and Mangaoraka Streams, seaward of the road (GBPP 1861:166). The troops had already camped there once, on the night of 10 September prior to the advance on Huirangi and Kairau. On 27 October Colonel Mould took 200 men from Waitara to reconnoitre the site.

Early in November Mould again went from Waitara, to make a bridge over a swamp on Devon Road near the Waiongana River, close to the proposed stockade site. His men came under fire, however, and when a day was fixed for beginning work on the stockade an enemy force already occupied the hill. On 6 November a brief but bloody engagement saw the Ngati



Fig. 34. Mahoetahi from the east. The central part of the pa is in the small hill top reserve, 1987.

Haua and Ngati Maniapoto force, only recently arrived in Taranaki, chased from an unprepared position. This was the first and most decisive Pakeha success of the war.

### *Mahoetahi*

Mahoetahi is situated immediately north of Devon Road (State Highway 3) at the junction with State Highway 3A (Fig. 34). The top of the hill is now public reserve. There is a New Zealand Historic Places Trust plaque at the roadside. Figure 35 gives an important plan of the hill by the surveyor Thomas Humphries, showing the location of Maori huts and defensive trenches on 6 November 1860. There appears to have been little by way of rifle pits, stockade or other defensive works.

After the engagement Colonel Mould was left at Mahoetahi with 300 men who entrenched and strengthened the Maori position before starting work on a stockade nearby. The troops destroyed the Mahoetahi defences on leaving. Terraces, especially visible on the eastern side of the hill, are all that remains.

### *Mahoetahi Stockade*

After the engagement the site of the stockade was changed from Mahoetahi to the nearby old pa Ngapuketurua, then marked by seven terraces beneath karaka trees on two adjacent lahar on the left bank of the Waiongana River (*Taranaki Herald* 24 November 1860). Construction proceeded rapidly:





Fig. 35. 'Mahoetahi', showing location of huts and unfinished stockade. (Thomas Humphries, Fieldbook 3030, DOSLI, New Plymouth.)

“7th November to 12 November. – From this date to the 12th, a party of 40 men were employed in felling and preparing timber for the stockade, clearing the bush from the intended site, and improving the defences of the pah [Mahoetahi], the working party for the stockade being covered by an advance line of skirmishers. on the 10th, 50 men of the garrison were ordered to New Plymouth.

13th November to 16th November. – Commenced the construction of the stockade on Ngapuke–turna [sic], which was closed in on the morning of the 16th, and on that night was occupied by a guard of 30 men. During the same period working parties were employed in clearing the great mass of timber and bush that covered the knoll, and levelling the old Maori banks that surrounded it.

17th November to 27th November. – Constructing barracks, stores &c., within the stockade, and clearing bush round the knoll and on the banks of the Waiongona River; working parties 40 men daily, with 8 Royal Engineers, and Military Artificers...

28th November. – The garrison at Mahortaki [sic] was broken up, the troops returning to New Plymouth, and the Commanding Royal Engineer to the Waitara. Previous to evacuating the pah, the whole of the entrenchments were levelled. The Maori “whares”, which served as shelter for a portion of the troops, were left standing. One officer and 40 men were left to garrison the stockade.”

(Mould 1863:100–101)

Working and defensive parties at Mahoetahi on 19 November comprised 289 men, mostly regulars of the 12th, 40th and 65th Regiments (Carey 1863:140).

The Ngapuketurua position was named ‘Mahoetahi Stockade’. Colonel Carey (1863:163, 172) gives the garrison on 20 January 1861 as 32 and on 11 February as 31 men. After the March 1861 ceasefire the post was maintained to keep open communication with Waitara. At the end of December 1862 25 of the 57th under Ensign A.B. Duncan, and possibly some local men, were at the post (Warre 1878:164–165).

Mahoetahi was abandoned on 13 May 1863 following the decision to withdraw from Waitara. One officer and 25 rank and file of the 70th Regiment returned to New Plymouth (War Office 0270.I:34). The position was then occupied by Te Atiawa under Mahau (AJHR 1864 E–3). It was reoccupied in the Second Taranaki War when the post was greatly enlarged by an earth breastwork thrown up around the summit of the second knoll. A 10 October 1864 sketch by Colonel Warre, in the Alexander Turnbull Library, shows the redoubt and stockade with a large encampment on adjacent lower ground (see Prickett 1981:77).

A drawing by the surveyor Thomas Humphries depicts a small stockade with signal mast on top of the higher of two hills that make up Ngapuketurua (Fig. 36). The site is located just south of Devon Road between State Highway 3A and the Waiongana River, where the stockade is marked by a platform *ca* 12 m in diameter. There are some possible terraces on the north slope. The south side of the hill has been quarried away.

## THE FINAL PHASE

Throughout December the troops at Waitara were employed preparing gabions, sap rollers and fascines (Mould 1863:101). At the end of the month an operation was begun aimed at destroying Maori strongholds south of the Waitara River. General Pratt assembled a large





Fig. 36. 'Ngapuketurua' (i.e. Mahoetahi Stockade), showing small timber work with flanking defence and signal mast. (Thomas Humphries, Fieldbook 3030, DOSLI, New Plymouth.)

force of Royal Artillery and Engineers, 12th, 40th and 65th Regiments and Naval Brigade. Early in the morning of 29 December he marched from Waitara out to Kairau, where the first of a series of eight redoubts was built under heavy fire (Figs 37 and 38).

#### *No 1 (Kairau) Redoubt*

The first British army fort thrown up in the advance on Huirangi was No 1 Redoubt, or 'Kairau' after the Maori settlement which once occupied the site. (Mentioned above in connection with the September operations in the area). Colonel Mould gives an account of engineering work carried out in the operations near Waitara which is unique in records of the New Zealand Wars.

"29th December.— A column of 900 men of all arms with four guns and howitzers, marched at 3 3/4 A.M., and having arrived at the site of the old Kairau pah (destroyed on the 11th September) about 1100 yards distant from Matarikoriko, a redoubt, for the accommodation of about 500 men was commenced for the purpose of serving as a depot for the attack of the pah, and subsequently for that of the position of Huirangi. Working parties of 150 men were employed. About 9 A.M. a volley of musquetry was fired from concealed rifle pits on the brink of a deep wooded gully, about 150 yds, from the redoubt, which for a moment interrupted its progress, but it was immediately resumed and carried on under a brisk fire from the enemy until 6 P.M., when it was completely closed in. 480 men were left as its garrison, who were on the alert the whole night, the enemy keeping up an almost unintermittent fire until four o'clock the following morning.

30th December (Sunday).— The parapets of the redoubt were this day raised and improved, banquettes formed, barbettes for guns raised, platforms for two 8-inch guns laid, and the guns mounted on the left face of the redoubt, pointing towards Matarikoriki [sic]."

(Mould 1863:101)

Lieutenant Colonel J.E. Alexander, 12th Regiment, adds details on the construction of the work:

“No.1 Redoubt was planned by Colonel Mould, and executed by Captain Mould with Royal Engineers and working parties, raising the parapets with earth and cut fern in layers, which last binds the loose earth in a wonderful manner, as we afterwards observed, and allowing of perpendicular parapets difficult to scale, and not the usual sloping parapets.”

(Alexander 1863b:232–233)

On the night of 29 December the redoubt was garrisoned by men of the 40th Regiment, a company of the 12th, and detachments of Royal Artillery, Engineers and Naval Brigade, all under Colonel A. Leslie, 40th Regiment (Carey 1863:153; Grayling 1862:47). Next day the 65th Regiment with Lieutenant Colonel A.F.W. Wyatt in command, plus some of the 12th,

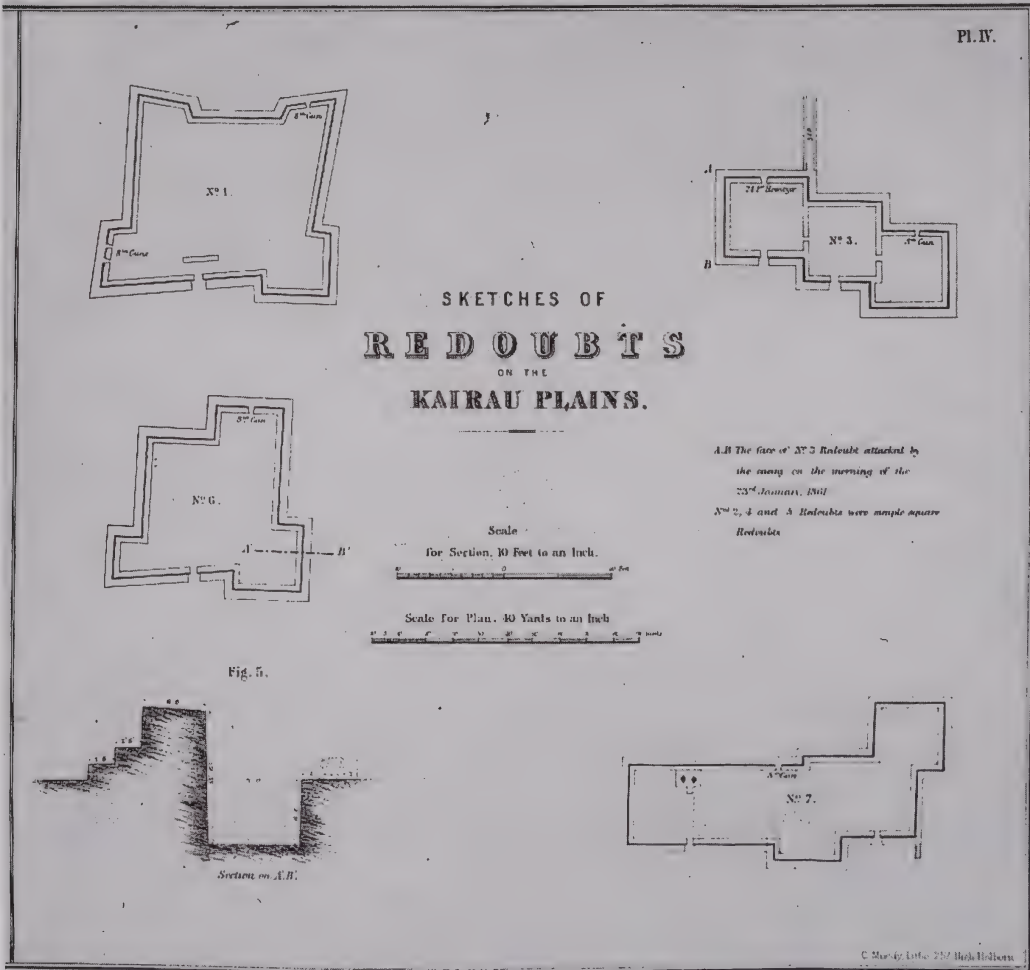


Fig. 37. ‘Sketches of redoubts on the Kairau Plains’. Plans of Numbers 1, 3, 6 and 7 Redoubts, and standard section through defences (Mould 1863).



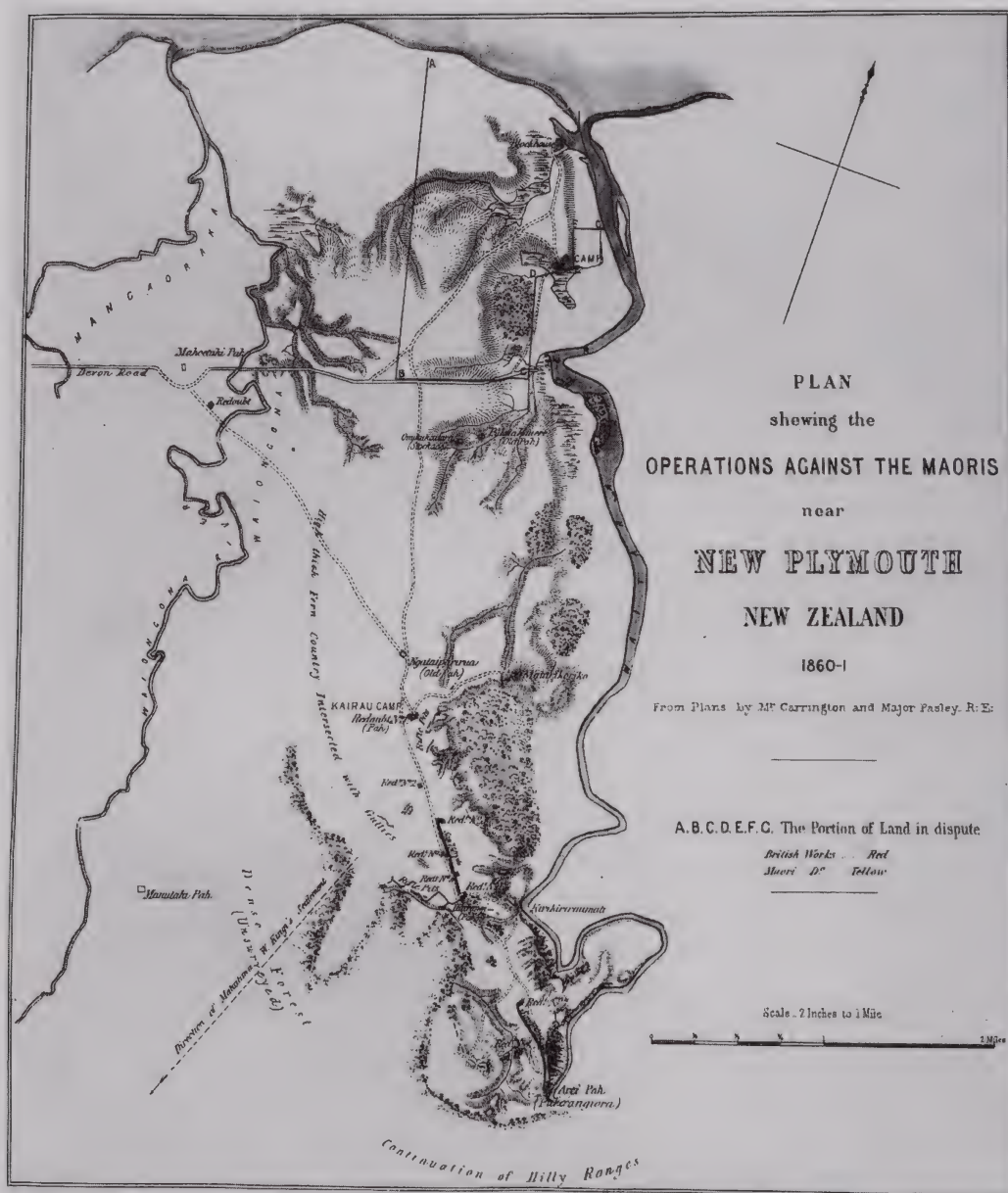


Fig. 38. 'Plan showing the operations against the Maoris near New Plymouth New Zealand 1860-1.' This map marks the disputed land at Waitara, Onukukaitara and Puketakauere, the redoubts and saps to Huirangi and Te Arei, Maori rifle pits, roads, etc. (War Office 0270.II:25.)

relieved the 40th as garrison (Carey 1863:153). On the eve of the 23 January attack on No 3 Redoubt the Kairau garrison still stood at 450 men. On 2 February Colonel Wyatt moved forward with the 65th to take command of No 6 Redoubt. On 11 February the No 1 Redoubt garrison was 371 (Carey 1863:172).

Kairau was occupied for a short time after the ceasefire of 19 March, the garrison at the end of March being provided by the 57th Regiment under Major Logan, recently arrived in New Zealand (*Taranaki Herald* 13 April 1861). The post was abandoned on 11 April, along with Nos 6 and 7 Redoubts (Grayling Journal 11 April 1861; Broughton 1914:58 gives 10 April).

A plan of No 1 Redoubt by Colonel Mould is included in Figure 37. It shows a large, basically square work with angled defence. Colonel Carey (1863:152) says the work, "...was of an irregular half bastion trace, and had an area of about 2,560 yards".

Half-way between the Matarikoriko and Te Arei Road corners, Waitara Road cuts through the centre of Kairau Redoubt. When last visited in July 1993, close cropping by horses showed up *ca* 50 m of the left rear angle of the redoubt, filled in to 200–400 mm depth, east of the road immediately behind a notice which marks the old fort. This part of the work can be seen in the New Zealand Aerial Mapping Ltd aerial photograph 4335/9, taken in November 1970.

### *Matarikoriko*

Matarikoriko was first occupied by a Maori force on 25 November 1860 (Mould 1863:101). On 1 December the *Taranaki Herald* reported that,

"...the Waikatos had erected two pas, one about 1300 yards from Puketakauere. Both are in open country, the first, Matarikoriko, being nearly in line with Ngataiparirua and the river Waitara, situate on the top of the slope to the river. The second, Kerikeriraumati, is a short distance outside the small bush to the left of Huirangi, and about 50 [sic 500?] yards from Matarikoriko. Both pas are pregnable, and it is believed intentionally so, as a ruse to entice the troops to attack them, while from numerous rifle pits and flanking parties in the vicinity, the chief resistance would be offered."

Later the Maori garrison at Matarikoriko erected a mast and arm on which they ran up a mock telegraph in imitation of the Pakeha posts at Puketakauere and Waitara (*Taranaki Herald* 15 December 1860).

Colonel Alexander (1863b:236–237) gives the lengths of rifle trenches outside Matarikoriko as 32, 74, 104, 73 and 178 paces. Carey (1863:149–150, 155) describes two types of rifle pit: those on the edge of scarp to the Waitara River valley, and others on the slope of the Matarikoriko hill itself. The latter had trenches for escape to the rear and in many cases were connected underground. Successive lines of pits presented a formidable obstacle to attacking troops. Matarikoriko was abandoned during the night of 31 December and promptly occupied by British troops.

The pa was located at the high point of today's Matarikoriko Road, where archaeological remains are those of the later Pakeha stockade. A search for nearby rifle pits may be guided



by Figure 38 which shows two near Matarikoriko, and more left of Kairau and south along the scarp to 'Kirikiriraumati'. The latter pa was close to the left bank of the Waitara River near Huirangi (see Figs 28 and 38).

### *Matarikoriko Stockade*

Matarikoriko was General Pratt's first objective when he marched out of Waitara on 29 December. Early on the morning of the 30th a truce flag was raised at the pa, which the following day was found to have been abandoned. Mould writes,

"It was immediately taken possession of, and preparations were commenced for constructing a stockade on the site. 100 men with a howitzer were posted as garrison within the pah.

1st January to 9 January, 1861.— Working parties, about 60 in number, were engaged in the construction of a stockade on Matarikoriki [sic], and in the destruction of the enemy's rifle pits, and in clearing the vicinity of the post from scrub and high fern...

11th January to 13th January.— The stockade on Matarikoriko was proceeded with on this and the three following days. The garrison was fixed at 60 men. The stockade was similar in construction and arrangement to that on Onukukaitea [sic], but a little larger to accommodate more men."

(Mould 1863:102)

The stockade was erected under the direction of Captain Mould and Lieutenant Warburton of the Royal Engineers (*Taranaki Herald* 12 January 1861). Tree ferns provided easily worked timber for its construction (Carey 1863:157).

Matarikoriko Stockade was held throughout by the 65th with small detachments from other corps. At first Captain Strange was in command (*Taranaki Herald* 5 January 1860). One the eve of the attack on No 3 Redoubt there was a garrison of 114, and on the establishment of No 7 Redoubt on 10 February, 60 men (Carey 1863:163, 172). It was probably abandoned in the second week of April along with other posts in the vicinity.

At the end of May Matarikoriko Stockade was given over to Hapurona, prominent among supporters of Wiremu Kingi. Hapurona, "... was promised a salary of 100 Pounds a year for taking charge of it, really a bonus to keep him detached from the war party" (Mould 1869:13). When the Second Taranaki War began, Hapurona was still there, and threatening to destroy the stockade for timber to construct whare and defences at Te Arei (AJHR 1863 E-3).

Figure 39 shows a rectangular stockade with blockhouses at two angles flanking all four sides. At the two remaining angles small sentry boxes or lookout posts are elevated above the loopholed stockade wall. Inside is a flag pole with signal arm. On page 21 in Fieldbook W1 (DOSLI, New Plymouth) is a plan of the work showing covered buildings on two sides of a central yard.

Matarikoriko Stockade is situated on high ground on the north side of Matarikoriko Road. The stockade sat on a platform, *ca* 30 m square, encircled by a defensive ditch now *ca* 7 m across. Since the mid-1970s an urupa, formerly on the northern flank of the site, has been extended to take up part of the stockade platform as well. Taranaki archaeologist Alastair Buist photographed the site in 1963 to show gorse on a largely intact platform and ditch



Fig. 39. Matarikoriko Stockade, showing loopholed stockade with flanking defence and signal mast. (After a sketch by Lt H.S. Bates, Cowan Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library.)

(Fig. 40). Since then the site has been greatly damaged, apparently through tidying-up operations carried out by bulldozer.

### *No 2 Redoubt*

The best account of the establishment of No 2 Redoubt is by Colonel Alexander.

“At three A.M. on the 14th January, a force six hundred strong, composed of men of the 12th, 14th and 40th regiments and Naval brigade, under the command of General Pratt, left the Waitara camp, and being joined by Colonel Wyatt and a party of the 65th regiment from Kairau, advanced in the direction of Huirangi, where and across the road the enemy had their rifle pits, extending a mile and a half in length. On the approach of the troops, partly in skirmishing order, the Maories were observed hurrying from their wharres in the rear to line their entrenchments, and immediately commenced a heavy fusillade on the troops, which was replied to by great guns from the redoubt and the rifles of the skirmishers. Colonel Mould, in the meantime, traced out and commenced six hundred yards in advance of Kairau, No 2 redoubt, twenty-six yards square, and built of earth and fern leaves mixed and rammed, it was completed before dark, and Captain Bowdler, 40th, and a party of one hundred and twenty men left to garrison it, with a 24-lb. howitzer “en barbette.””

(Alexander 1863b:247–248)

Royal Engineer, Colonel Mould, adds:





Fig. 40. Matarikoriko, aerial view from north-west. (A.G. Buist photograph, 1963.)

“14th January.—Commenced the construction of a redoubt about 500 yards on the right front of No. 1 or the Kairau redoubt, 26 yards square interiorly, which was completed in about 11 hours. The parapet was about 7 feet high, and averaged 6 feet thick. Banquettes were formed and a barbette raised for a howitzer on the right front salient angle. Working party, 60 men, with a detail of the Royal Engineers. The redoubt was garrisoned with 128 men, including artillery.”

(Mould 1863:102)

Grayling (1862:49) puts it 570 yards in advance of No 1 Redoubt, and Carey (1863:161), 600 yards.

Captain Bowdler, 40th, was in command of 110 of his own regiment, 26 of the 65th, and eight artillerymen with a 9-pounder (*Taranaki Herald* 19 January 1861). The redoubt was closed up and abandoned on 30 January (*Taranaki Herald* 2 February 1861), and was thrown down along with Nos 3, 4 and 5 Redoubts on 11 February (*Taranaki Herald* ‘Extra’ 11 February 1861). A watercolour by Lieutenant Bates shows Nos 2 and 3 Redoubts in front of the Huirangi bush edge (Fig. 41).

The location of No 2 Redoubt is given on the old Survey District Series cadastral map, Waitara TN15, 1938. It was *ca* 100 m east of Te Arei Road, 100 m south of the junction with Waitara Road. Today a hedge at right angles to the road dips into a slight depression to mark the site. No 2 is the only one of eight redoubts thrown up in the advance on Huirangi and Te



Fig. 41. No 2 Redoubt can be seen right of the road. Further away, left of the road, is No 3 Redoubt. Puffs of smoke can be seen from Maori rifle pits along the bush edge right and left of No 3 Redoubt. In the centre distance is Te Arei pa. (After a sketch by Lt H.S. Bates, Cowan Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library.)

Arei for which we do not have a plan from historical sources. Colonel Mould gives the size as 26 yard (23.8 m) square interior size and writes of a “right front salient angle”.

### *No 3 Redoubt*

The *Taranaki Herald* of 19 January reports the move to establish No 3 Redoubt.

“A force of upwards of 1000 men of the Naval Brigade, under Commodore Seymour, of the 12th, under Capt. Miller, 14th, under Major Douglass, 40th, under Colonel Leslie, and 65th, under Colonel Wyatt, commanded by the General in person, proceeded at 4 A.M. to-day to throw forward another redoubt...A smart fire of rifles was maintained, with a tremendous cannonade from 2 8-inch guns (one in the Kairau redoubt, and another planted in the road between No 2 redoubt and the enemy’s position), 3 24-pounder howitzers, 1 12-pounder howitzer (Naval Brigade), 1 9-pounder gun, a rocket tube (24-pounder), and a cohorn mortar. Under this fire, for whenever a puff of smoke was seen from the rifle pits, a shell was immediately thrown over it, Colonel Mould, R.E. selected a site for another redoubt, to the left of the road, about 1000 yards from Kairau redoubt, 550 from No. 2 redoubt, and about 700 from the enemy’s rifle-pits and position.”

Again Colonel Mould is in charge of construction.

“18th January.— A redoubt 30 yards square interiorly was commenced about 400 yards to the left front of No. 2, and completed in 1 1/2 hours and was occupied at night by a garrison of



100 men, one howitzer was mounted “en barbette” at one angle of the work, and a second placed in an embrasure. Working party, 60 men, with a detail of Royal Engineers...

19th January.— A right wing to Redoubt No. 3 was commenced and nearly completed during the day, a working party of 60 men being employed. A platform for an 8-inch gun was laid on the right front face of the wing, and the gun mounted. Occasional firing from the enemy.

20th January.— The right wing of the redoubt commenced yesterday, was completed this day, and a communication made between it and the centre. A left wing was also commenced and the front face completed and part of the left face. There was not any interruption from the enemy.

21st January.— The left wing of the redoubt was carried on this day nearly to completion by working parties of the same strength as on previous days. The garrison was strengthened by 100 men, who were posted in the right wing of the redoubt. The enemy occasionally fired briskly but caused only one slight casualty.

22nd January.— The left wing of the redoubt was completed this day and an additional garrison place in it, including the head-quarters of the 40th Regiment.”

(Mould 1863:102–103)

Grayling (1862:80) says it was 430 yards from No 2 Redoubt. The initial garrison of 100 men and a howitzer was under command of Captain Richards, 40th Regiment (*Taranaki Herald* 19 January 1861). Additions to the garrison on completion of the right and left wings are outlined by Mould.

No 3 Redoubt consisted of three squares *en echelon*, left forward, as shown on Colonel Mould’s plan. In his discussion of the work Colonel Carey describes construction of the walls of earthwork redoubts in Taranaki.

“The ground in which the men worked was very favourable, but the soil alone would never have stood at the required slope had we not been able to strengthen it with fern. This pulled up by the roots, or cut down close to the ground, and and when laid down on the space marked out for the parapets, and at right angles to its length, each bundle overlapped the other. Alternate layers of earth and fern completed the work, and thus a strong and nearly perpendicular and enduring parapet was rapidly raised.”

(Carey 1863:161–162)

On the morning of 23 January No 3 Redoubt was attacked by a large Maori force, one of a handful of Maori assaults on Pakeha fortifications in the New Zealand Wars. The garrison at this time comprised 341 of the 40th (officers and men), 22 Royal Artillery, 22 Royal Engineers and 11 Naval Brigade, and included the headquarters of the 40th Regiment under Colonel Leslie. Pratt includes Leslie’s report in his despatch of 23 January 1861 (GBPP 1862:10–12). During the attack a company of the 12th and two of the 65th came up from Kairau Redoubt. The Maori force was beaten off after bloody work in the surrounding ditch.

It was from No 3 Redoubt that on 22 January Pratt’s sap was begun for the centre of the line of Huirangi rifle pits. The redoubt was abandoned at 8 a.m. on 11 February when the headquarters of the 40th marched forward to No 7 Redoubt. It was thrown down the same day (*Taranaki Herald* 16 February 1861, and ‘Extra’ 11 February 1861). The work can be seen in the middle distance in Figure 41.

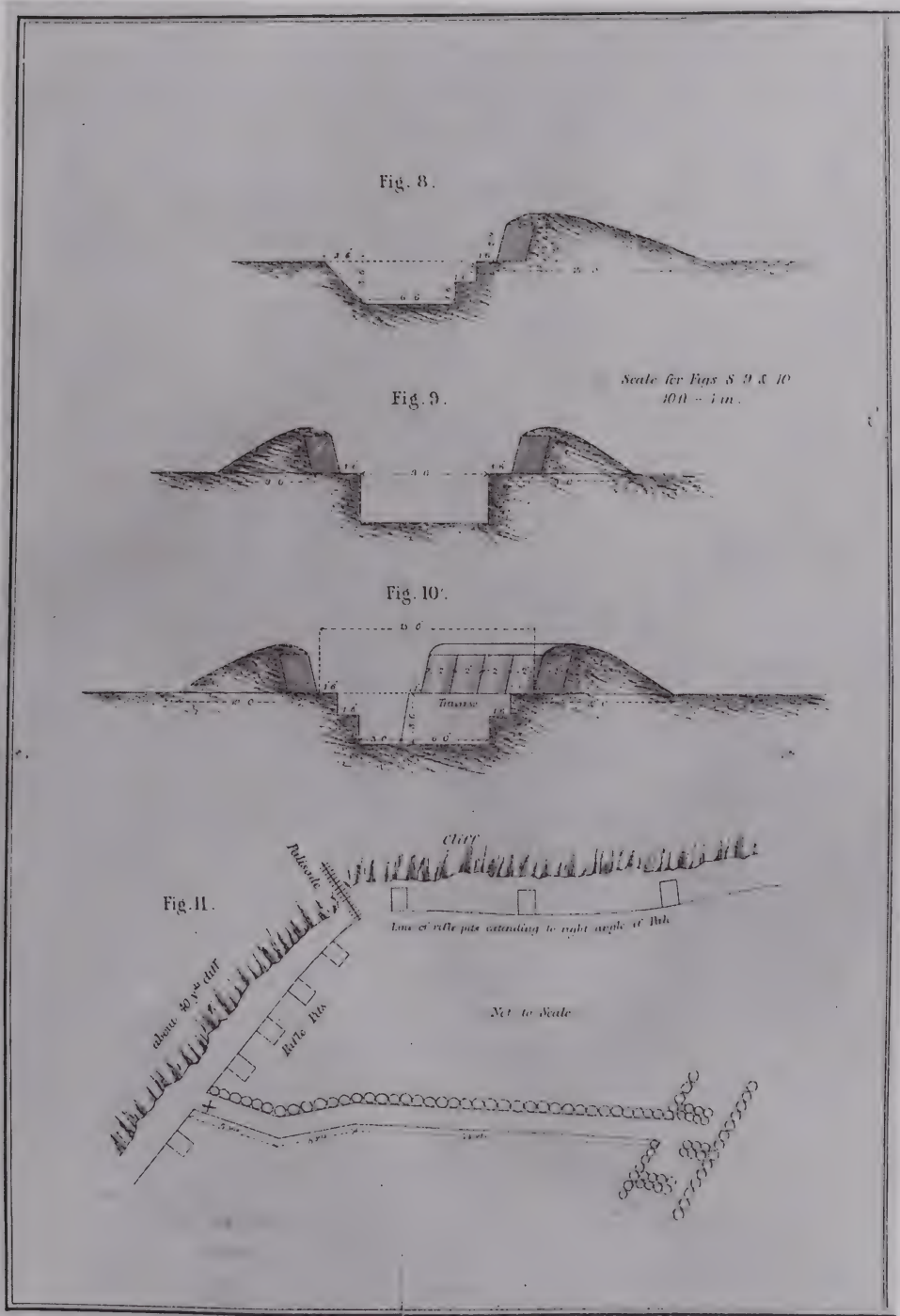


Fig. 42. Sections and plan of General Pratt's sap (Mould 1863). Sections show single sap ('Fig. 8'), double sap ('Fig. 9'), and double sap with traverse ('Fig. 10'). Plan shows the head of the sap at Te Arei, demi-parallel to the cliff, and Maori rifle pits.



The location of No 3 Redoubt is given on the old Survey District Series cadastral map, Waitara TN15, 1938. Only three or four short lengths of badly damaged and eroded defences can now be seen. These lie within and, in one case, just outside the present homestead garden on the site.

### *Pratt's Sap*

Two saps – attacking trenches – were dug by the troops: the first to turn Te Atiawa and their allies from rifle pits at the Huirangi bush edge; the second carried the advance on to Te Arei, high on the northern face of the historic pa, Pukerangiora. The two lengths of sap totalled 1626 yards (1487 m).

The first sap extended from No 3 Redoubt to 90 yards in advance of No 6 Redoubt on the line of the Huirangi rifle pits. Colonel Mould, who was in charge of engineering works throughout the advance, gives the length as 768 yards of double sap to No 6 Redoubt, plus 90 yards of single sap beyond (War Office 0270.II:48–50). A double sap employed gabions on both sides, while a single sap had them on one side only (see Fig. 42). For the first 120 yards the double sap was 12 ft wide, and beyond that 15 ft, traversed at intervals of 40 or 50 ft.

It is not difficult to follow the line of the sap from the site of No 3 Redoubt to No 6 Redoubt on the corner of Te Arei and Bertrand Roads. The sap shows up clearly from the air and on the ground (Figs 43 and 44), despite much ploughing over the years.



Fig. 43. The sap showing up under new grass in 1975. View from north towards No 6 Redoubt at the far corner of the paddock.

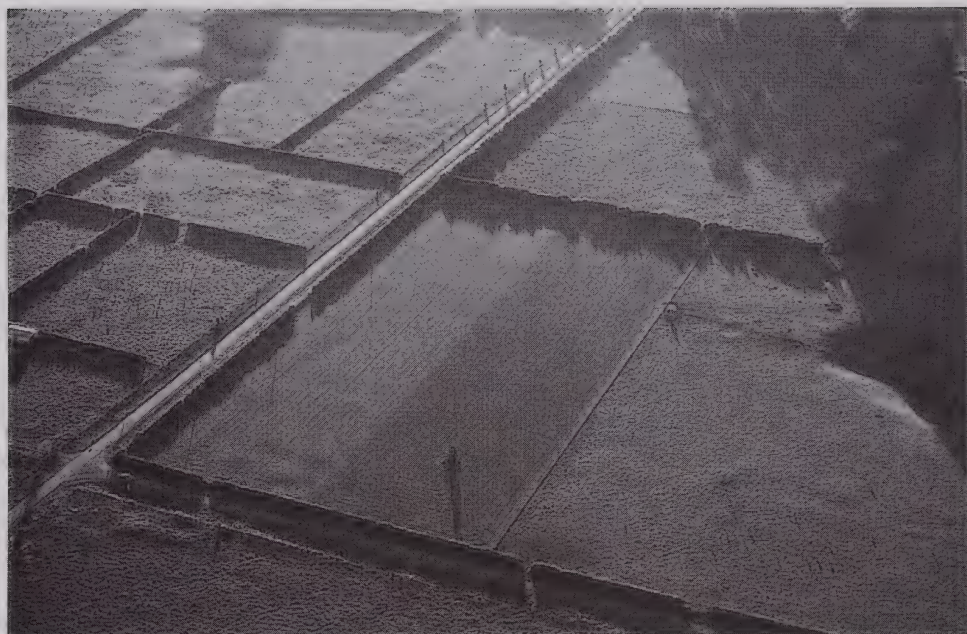


Fig. 44. Aerial view of sap looking north. Huirangi Redoubt can be seen bottom left at the corner of Bertrand and Te Arei Roads, with the sap faintly visible running across two paddocks to trees at upper right, 1975.

The second sap extended from No 7 Redoubt to within 90 yards of the Maori position at Te Arei. From No 7 to No 8 Redoubt was a single sap of 452 yards. Beyond No 8 Redoubt was a double sap of 316 yards where the ground fell away to dangerously expose the attacking troops, before rising again to the enemy defences. Figure 42 shows a demi-parallel located to evict Maori snipers who occupied rifle pits at the cliff edge to the left (War Office 0270.II:48–50). This can be easily seen today (Fig. 45). Demi-parallels were trenches dug nearly parallel to the face of the enemy fortification for artillery positions or to allow a concentration of troops.

A watercolour by Taranaki settler F.H. Arden depicts the sap at Te Arei after the March ceasefire (Fig. 46). The Te Arei defences can be seen against the bush in the background. Demi-parallel extends out of the picture to the left. Most of the No 7 Redoubt to Te Arei sap is no longer visible. A short section in the Pukerangiora Historical Reserve is still in good order and is a unique archaeological site. The sap and demi-parallel have in recent years been cleared of vegetation (Fig. 47).

### *Huirangi*

General Pratt wrote on 6 February 1861:

“I have the honour to report that on the 2d instant we took possession of the enemy’s rifle-pits, extending over a mile in the line of bush, with Huirangi in the centre, and which they abandoned without a struggle.





Fig. 45. Demi-parallel at Te Arei, 1993.

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.  
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 46. The head of Pratt's sap just after the ceasefire of March 1861, showing demi-parallel to the left and Te Arei pa beyond. The wicker gabions can be seen, also the traverses which prevented an enfilading fire. (F.H. Arden, watercolour, Taranaki Museum.)



Fig. 47. Part of General Pratt's sap survives in Pukerangiora Historic Reserve, 1993. This view is in the opposite direction to the Arden watercolour.

A redoubt for 400 men has been erected there inside the space where the Huirangi pah stood which was destroyed on the 11th of September last.

The enemy appear to have retired to another line of defence further inland."

(GBPP 1861:36)

Alexander (1863b:235) describes the Huirangi rifle pits as narrow to avoid casualties from shot and shell, well designed for defence, and for escape if necessary. They were straight or curved, with traverses. Covered huts lined with fern gave shelter from enemy guns. In his 30 March 1861 report to the Deputy Adjutant General, Mould has this to say:

"Their sites are at the best but barely indicated by a narrow line of newly-moved earth, carefully spread, not exceeding six inches above the general surface of the ground, whilst, for the most part, they, as well as the defenders, are invisible, a head occasionally only being raised above the level of the ground to reconnoitre, though the line may be thickly occupied in the recent case, it is presumed, by a force at first amounting to nearly 1,200 men."

(War Office 0270.II:48-50)

The Huirangi rifle pits were about the line of Bertrand Road, and continued west of Te Arei Road. They are marked in Figure 38 with their back to the scarp which falls away to the Mangaonaia Stream. Some are located on the Waitara IX Block Sheet 47/11, north of Cross Road at the edge of the scarp to Mangaonaia Stream. In Figure 41 smoke from Maori guns can be seen along the bush edge on both sides of the gap which marks the location of Huirangi



itself. I have not searched the area. Archaeological remains may still exist where not destroyed by road works, cultivation or the steady erosion of farm animals or activities.

#### *No 4 Redoubt*

No 4 Redoubt was thrown up to defend the sap. Once again Colonel Mould provides the details.

“27th January.—Sap continued as yesterday with a detail of 4 Engineers and 30 Line, working from 5 A.M. till 7 P.M., 49 yards being executed. A square redoubt, 13 1/2 yards a side interiorly, was commenced at 5 A.M. on the right side of the sap, and carried on until 7 P.M. when it was nearly completed; 100 men were employed on this work from 5 A.M. until noon, and 70 men from noon until 7 P.M. The front of the redoubt, which was numbered 4, was 310 yards from the commencement of the sap. It was garrisoned by 50 men; Lieutenant Warburton, R.E., on duty.

28th January.—60 yards of the sap executed this day, between 5 A.M. and 7 P.M., with a party of 3 Engineers and 5 men of the Line; 2 Engineers and 25 men employed in taking down gabions, and reforming the parapets of the sap with fern, and 20 men in completing the banquette of No. 4 Redoubt, clearing out the ditch, the earth being thrown up to form a slight glacis, and planting palisades in the ditch.”

(Mould 1863:104)

The *Taranaki Herald* of 2 February 1861 puts No 4 Redoubt 266 yards forward of No 3.

The garrison of 50 men was under the command of Captain Robert Hare, 40th Regiment (*Taranaki Herald* 2 February 1861). No 4 Redoubt was abandoned on the advance to No 7 Redoubt on 10 February and was thrown down the following day (*Taranaki Herald* 16 February 1861 and ‘Extra’ 11 February 1861).

No 4 Redoubt is located on the old Survey District Series cadastral map, Waitara TN15. Of the eight redoubts put up during the advance on Huirangi and Te Arei, it is the only one of which no surface indication remains. It is, however, easy to follow the line of the sap, and quite possible to accurately locate the vanished work from contemporary information.

#### *No 5 Redoubt*

“30th January.—5 Engineers and 40 men employed on the sap from 5 A.M. until 7 P.M.; 71 yards executed, 2 Engineers and 30 men reforming sap with fern. At 3 P.M., a redoubt (No. 5), to be 24 yards square interiorly, was commenced on the left side of the sap, about 530 yards from the commencement of the sap, and 260 yards from the nearest of the enemy’s rifle pits. A screen, consisting of a double row of filled gabions with an empty row on the top, was previously placed in front of the front face of the redoubt. 3 Engineers and 30 men employed on this work.

31st January.—Sap continued as before; working party, who were employed from 5 A.M. until 8 P.M., 3 Engineers and 30 of the Line. Redoubt No. 5 was completed by 8 P.M., with banquettes complete, and a “barbette” for a 24-pounder howitzer on the left front angle, an average party of 8 Engineers and 100 men being employed. The enemy fired a little at different periods of the day.”

(Mould 1863:104)

The redoubt was designed for a garrison of 100 men (Carey 1863:168). It was abandoned on 10 February and thrown down the following day (*Taranaki Herald* 16 February 1861 and 'Extra' 11 February 1861).

No 5 Redoubt is marked on the old Survey District Series cadastral map, Waitara TN15. In a 1950 aerial photograph (New Zealand Aerial Mapping 1785/21) it can be seen that the sap has a slight change of direction as it enters the south side of the paddock at the Bertrand and Te Arei Roads corner. No 5 Redoubt is situated at this point. When visited by the writer in the mid-1970s, a single faint depression could be seen running off at right angles to the sap to mark the site of the work.

### *No 6 (Huirangi) Redoubt*

Colonel Carey describes the establishment of No 6 Redoubt:

"On the 2nd February the first line of [rifle] pits was reached and a redoubt for 450 men, two 24-pounders, and one 8-inch gun was commenced. it was completed next day, and garrisoned by the 65th Regiment, a portion of the Naval Brigade, Royal Artillery, and Royal Engineers."

(Carey 1863:169)

The Royal Engineer, Colonel Mould, again gives details:

"2nd February.— ...At 3 P.M. a redoubt was commenced, its front slightly in advance of the enemy's rifle pits, in the midst of a field of high Scotch thistle; and to the left of the Huirangi road its left front angle resting on a patch of close bush, extending away to the left and front.

3rd February.— ...The redoubt commenced yesterday was carried on throughout the day, from 5 A.M. till 7 P.M., 120 men in all being employed in the work.

4th February.— 11 Engineers and 120 men employed in completing No.6 Redoubt, which was garrisoned by the 65th Regiment, including its head quarters. 25 axe-men employed as yesterday in cutting down the bush. A platform for an 8-inch gun was laid in the right half bastion of the redoubt.

5th February.— A party of 80 men employed in forming banquettes in the redoubt, widening, deepening, and clearing the ditch, and partly raising the parapets, 25 axe-men employed as before; 12 Engineers superintending the several works."

(Mould 1863:105)

Huirangi Redoubt was occupied in the closing stages of the First Taranaki War by a detachment of the 65th including the headquarters of the regiment, plus some other troops. Colonel Wyatt moved forward from No 1 Redoubt to take command on 2 February. On the advance to No 7 Redoubt on 10 February, No 6 was held by 432 men (Carey 1863:172). At this time Nos 1, 6 and 7 Redoubts were the only fortifications occupied, all with strong garrisons.

Colonel Wyatt was in command at No 7 Redoubt on the night of 10 February (Broughton 1914:57). The next day Colonel Leslie led the 40th forward to No 7 Redoubt, and it is likely Colonel Wyatt then rejoined the head-quarters of his own regiment at Huirangi. Wyatt is certainly in command at No 6 on 21 March, two days after the ceasefire (Broughton 1914:57).



The 65th marched out from Huirangi on 11 April when the whole area was abandoned by the troops (Grayling Journal 11 April 1861).

No 6 Redoubt was the only one of eight built during Pratt's advance on Huirangi and Te Arei which was re-occupied in later campaigns. Captain Page's company of Taranaki Military Settlers took over the old post on 11 October 1864 to keep open communication with the 70th Regiment redoubt recently established at Te Arei (*Taranaki Herald* 15 October 1864).

No 6 Redoubt was a large redoubt with flanking defence at three angles covering all four sides (see Fig. 37). It is situated at the corner of Bertrand and Te Arei Roads (Fig. 48), where earthworks can be seen in the paddocks on both sides of Bertrand Road. How much the later occupation altered original earthworks is not clear. A rough plan by S.P. Smith, dated 3 April 1865, shows a change to the flanking defence on the forward (southern) face (page 16, Fieldbook W1, DOSLI, New Plymouth). Most of the site has been destroyed by roading so that archaeological confirmation of the trace is not easy.

### *Te Arei*

Pratt described the "pahs and position" of the next line of defence as more formidable than he had contemplated and called for mortars (GBPP 1862:37). As at Huirangi there were



Fig. 48. The remains of No 6 Redoubt, at the corner of Te Arei and Bertrand Roads. 1975 photograph.

rifle pits at the bush edge on both sides of the troops line of advance. Strongpoints were at Te Arei, Pukerangiora and Te Tutu (GBPP 1862:44). Te Tutu was 6–700 m west of Te Arei over the valley of the Mangaonaia Stream, where the ridge is now crossed by York Road. Figure 38 shows a crescent of rifle pits along the high ground here. A 1934 cadastral ‘Map of Taranaki County’ shows rifle pits south–west of Te Tutu between present day York and Kelly Roads (Q19 *ca* 180367).

Alexander (1863b:274) describes a narrow shelf dug below the cliff top at Te Arei giving access to rifle pits left of the sap (shown by Mould in Fig. 42). The remains of rifle pits are still visible on the cliff edge in the Pukerangiora Historic Reserve (Fig. 49). A watercolour by Colonel Warre in the National Library of Australia shows the Te Arei defences in 1864. A light outer fence is backed by massive earthworks with ditches leading to firing trenches. Behind is a stockade. The earthwork which now occupies the Te Arei position is not the pa but a 70th Regiment redoubt dating from October 1864.

### *No 7 Redoubt*

Colonel Carey again gives a good account of the forward movement of troops.

“On the 10th February all the disposable force, 932 rank and file, paraded at No.6 Redoubt. The 40th took the left, the 65th, 12th, and 14th the right; the guns, ammunition, &c., the centre. The whole then moved to take up a position as near as could be done with regard to our communications with the redoubts...an advance was made to within about eight hundred yards of the enemy’s position. Here, from the rifle–pits, no enemy being visible, a heavy fire



Fig. 49. Rifle pit at cliff top, Te Arei, 1993.



was opened on the force. The skirmishers were thrown a little more forward and No.7 Redoubt was commenced, where the head of the column then rested.”

(Carey 1863:170–171)

No 7 Redoubt was built under the supervision of Colonel Mould and Captain Mould.

10th February.— Commenced the construction of a redoubt about 1,300 yards from No.6, and about 800 yards from Te-ari [sic] Pah (Puke-rangiora), about 8 A.M., employing 24 Engineers and 130 men of the Line, under cover of a line of skirmishers, supported by 4 guns and howitzers. The enemy opened fire from a line of rifle pits, in commanding positions, and from the pa, about 7 A.M., and fired briskly throughout the day, under which the work of the redoubt was carried on, and so far completed as to be occupied by a garrison at night. The garrison was 400 men, including the head quarters of the 40th Regiment...

11th February.— The works at the redoubt were continued; the parapets being raised, and ditches deepened, and the front face, and part of the left face, surmounted with filled gabions, with sandbag loop-holes at intervals, to protect the interior from the plunging fire of the enemy, which was sharply kept up, killing one man, and wounding an officer and one man within the redoubt; 9 Engineers employed superintending the working parties.

12th February.— The works of the redoubt were completed this day, 9 Engineers were employed in superintending and assisting the garrison...”

(Mould 1863:105–106)

No 7 Redoubt was on lower ground than the Maori positions on Te Arei so a considerable effort was put into raising the parapets on forward faces. The original work had two large bastions covering all four faces. This was soon enlarged:

“14th February.— ...9 Engineers and 80 men of the Line employed in making an addition to the left of No.7 Redoubt, to give more accommodation.

15th February.— 9 Engineers and 80 men employed in completing the addition to No.7 Redoubt, in draining the redoubt and opening a communication between the original and added portion.”

(Mould 1863:106)

From 18 to 25 February there was more raising of the parapets and deepening ditches. On 15 March a further addition was made.

“15th March. ...An addition to No.7 Redoubt, to contain the artillery, was commenced on the left by a party of 16 Engineers and 80 men of the Line...

16th March.— ...The addition to the redoubt, which was 30 yards by 25 yards interiorly, was carried on and completed, with the exception of portions of the banquettes, and a “barbette”, 21 feet by 24 feet, was constructed for two Armstrong guns..

17th March.— ...A party of 36 men was employed in completing the banquettes, &c., of the new portion of No.7 Redoubt.

18th March.— ...The parapet between the old and added portions of No.7 Redoubt was broken down, the ditch filled in, and the “barbette” made up to 36 feet in width.”

(Mould 1863:109–110)

The successive additions can be seen in Colonel Mould’s plan (Fig. 37), and on the ground today (Fig. 50).



Fig. 50. No 7 Redoubt, aerial photograph from north, Te Arei Road at right, 1975.

On the night of 10 February No 7 Redoubt was occupied by 400 men (12th, 40th and 65th Regiments) drawn from rear redoubts, under the command of Colonel Wyatt (Broughton 1914:56). The following day No 3 Redoubt was abandoned, Colonel Leslie and the 40th moving to No 7, then occupied by 435 men (*Taranaki Herald* 16 February 1861; Carey 1863:172). The sap for Te Arei started from the redoubt on 16 February (Mould 1863:106). After the ceasefire the redoubt was occupied by the 40th with some Royal Artillery (*Taranaki Herald* 13 April 1861). No 7 was abandoned on 11 April 1861 (Grayling Journal 11 April 1861).

No 7 Redoubt is situated in the paddock north of the Te Arei and Tikorangi Road corner. The earthworks are badly damaged although still easily seen from the ground or air. A Thomas Humphries sketch depicts the redoubt with the Te Arei stockade beyond (Fig. 51).

#### *No 8 Redoubt*

During the night of 26 February 1861 the Maori garrison at Te Arei destroyed the forward part of the sap. The British command decided therefore to build a small guard redoubt 452 yards in advance of No 7 to protect the works.

“28th February.— To protect the further progress of the sap, a redoubt (square) to be of 16 yards interior side was commenced at 5 A.M., the front face thereof being 34 yards from the





Fig. 51. 'No 7 Redoubt', from the north, with tents inside and to rear. In the distance the stockade defences of Te Arei can be seen against the bush edge. (Thomas Humphries, Fieldbook 3030, DOSLI, New Plymouth.)

end of the single sap. A screen of gabions filled with earth was thrown up to cover the workmen, who were in number 7 Engineers and 80 of the Line. The Redoubt (No.8) was completed by 7 P.M., and occupied by a guard of 50 men. The upper row of gabions of the screen was taken down and the lower double row backed up with earth to form a glacis." (Mould 1863:107–108)

At the end of March No 8 Redoubt was garrisoned by a small detachment supplied in rotation by the regiments stationed at Nos 1, 6 and 7 Redoubts (*Taranaki Herald* 13 April 1861). It is not known precisely when it was abandoned, although it must have been between the end of March when the *New Zealander* correspondent visited the post (*Taranaki Herald* 13 April 1861), and 11 April when the troops vacated the entire area.

The location of No 8 Redoubt is accurately given on the relevant survey blocksheet, at a location given the name 'Okurawhero' (Waitara IX Block Sheet, DOSLI, New Plymouth; and see page 17, Fieldbook W1, where the name 'Onewhero' is given). It was situated on high ground east of Te Arei Road, adjacent to the road fence. The location is easily determined today, although cultivation has destroyed all sign of earthworks. The line of sap entering and leaving the redoubt, though not the fort itself, can be seen on the 1950 aerial photograph (New Zealand Aerial Mapping 1785/21).

## WAR'S END

In March 1861 the Ngati Haua leader Wiremu Tamihana (Tarapipipi) arrived at Te Arei to assist in bringing about a peace settlement. Negotiation took place over the lines ending on the morning of 19 March when a white flag was raised at the pa to signal the ceasefire. Next day the Waikato were observed from No 8 Redoubt, crossing the Waitara River on their way home. On 21 March the Ngati Ruanui and Taranaki people returned south from Waireka which they had reoccupied in the new year (*Taranaki Herald* 23 March 1861).

A peace agreement was then signed for Te Atiawa by Hapurona on 8 April, and by Wiremu Ngawaka Patukakariki a week later. Among other things the chiefs agreed to further investigation of the Waitara title, to give up plunder, and to submit to British law (AJHR 1861 E-18:4-5). Wiremu Kingi retired to Kihikihi with Ngati Maniapoto and did not sign (Cowan 1922-23 I:213). No settlement was made with southern tribes.

## FORTIFICATIONS AND WARFARE

In the Taranaki campaign of 1860-61 Pakeha forces erected no less than 31 campaigning and defensive positions. Fortified pa came to about the same figure, although some of them, including the several Bell Block pa, were already in existence before 1860. In a campaign which lasted just one year the forts of both sides represent a considerable investment of scarce resources.

## PAKEHA WORKS

European works were located to control battlefields, lines of communication, and military or farming frontiers. The First Taranaki War is unique in the New Zealand Wars in the use of Pakeha works for tactical offensive purposes, notably at Huirangi and Te Arei in early 1861. The only assault on a Pakeha work in the war of 1860-61 was that on No 3 Redoubt, where the attacking party was badly beaten. It must be remembered, however, that the success of Pakeha forts lay, not in their having withstood an attack, but in no assault being attempted. This is in marked contrast to Maori works.

Pakeha works varied considerably in size. Waitara Camp was one of the largest in all the New Zealand campaigns, comparable only with Queen's Redoubt, Pokeno, also enclosing *ca* 8500 m<sup>2</sup>. At *ca* 2500 m<sup>2</sup> (50 x 50 m) Waireka Camp is the largest redoubt of the war of 1860-61 for which we have archaeological evidence. Small works were No 5 Redoubt which enclosed 480 m<sup>2</sup> and No 8, 210 m<sup>2</sup>, in both cases using Colonel Mould's figures.

There is contradictory data for some of the 1861 redoubts near Waitara. Colonel Carey says that No 1 Redoubt, "...had an area of about 2,560 [square] yards", that is 2140 m<sup>2</sup>. From Colonel Mould's plan, however, the area may be estimated at *ca* 3300 m<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, Mould's official report (War Office 0270.II:48-50) gives the area of No 3 Redoubt as 1900 square yards; but he also says that the central square was "30 yards square interiorly" (27.5 m), and his plan shows left and right additions about the same size, making a total closer to 2700 square yards or 2270 m<sup>2</sup>. This figure is approximately confirmed by Mould's plan. From the same plans No 6 Redoubt may be estimated at *ca* 2200 m<sup>2</sup>, and No 7, *ca* 2700 m<sup>2</sup>. Only excavation will confirm these figures.



Maximum garrisons at the above fortifications are as follows: No 1 Redoubt, 450 men; No 3 Redoubt, 396; No 6 Redoubt, 432; No 7 Redoubt, 435; Waireka Camp, 265. An example of a small earthwork fortification is No 8 with 50 men only. In battlefield conditions as at Waitara in early 1861, and at Waireka Camp, manning levels were at a maximum.

Stockades were mostly small, like Omata where 260 m<sup>2</sup> was enclosed. The evidence suggests that Matarikoriko, Puketakauere and Mahoetahi were smaller again. Stockades and blockhouses, with accommodation against the perimeter defences, made more efficient use of space than earthwork redoubts which required space for tents and easy access to parapets in case of attack. Garrison figures include the Omata Stockade with a maximum of 80 men, Puketakauere, 19–50 men, and Mahoetahi, 30–40.

Engineers employed a variety of traces (ground plans) in laying out redoubts. The classic rectangle with bastion defence at two angles covering all four sides was used only at Waireka. In the advance on Huirangi and Te Arei all the large redoubts were laid out to a unique trace. At No 1 Redoubt were angled bastions with intervening curtain walls on the front face. This arrangement was designed to contend with artillery which might breach the curtain wall, hardly likely in New Zealand. There is no sign in the First Taranaki War of the so-called 'New Zealand redoubt' (see Young 1869), common in later campaigns. This was rectangular, with bastion defence at all four corners each covering one side only.

## MAORI WORKS

In contrast to Pakeha works, fortified Maori pa were located and built throughout the New Zealand Wars with the purpose of inviting attack. In this they achieved some success, notably at Ohaeawai in 1845, Gate Pa, Tauranga, in April 1863, Te Ngutu o te Manu and Moturoa, south Taranaki, in 1868, and at Puketakauere in June 1860. Their success, however, depended on a particular enemy response; alternatively they could be ignored or by-passed.

Maori engineers developed artillery proof fortifications from long experience of pre-European works and the musket pa of early 19th century inter-tribal fighting. Generally pa were stronger and more complex than Pakeha works which did not have to contend with artillery. The strategy was to invite attack from an enemy with considerable artillery and small-arms firepower. Hence the underground bunkers, multiple timber and earthwork lines of defence, and the protection afforded defenders at their firing positions close to the ground behind two stockade lines.

Taranaki pa for which we have contemporary plans include Onukukaitara with *ca* 2100 m<sup>2</sup> enclosed by defences (Fig. 21); Puketakauere, 585 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 20); Te Kohia, 350 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 16); Puketotara, 1000 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 27); Orongomaihangī, 1200 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 30) and Pukekakariki, 460 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 31). The defensive elements characteristic of pa may be seen in each of these drawings.

Garrison figures given by Grayling (1862:93) are claimed to derive from Maori sources: Puketakauere and Onukukaitara, 400; Huirangi (September 1860), 100; Kaihihi, 100; Mahoetahi, 150; Kairau and Matarikoriko, 800; Te Arei, 2000. Major Hutchins obtained a figure of 500 from Maori sources for the strongpoints and rifle pits at Waireka in August (War Office 0270.II:28–29). More than 1000 may have held the same positions in early 1861

(Grayling 1862:93). Governor Browne (GBPP 1861:17–19) gives the garrison at Te Kohia as about 70.

Some pa were stand-alone fortifications, including Te Kohia, Kaipopo and Mahoetahi. Others were grouped for support, such as Puketakauere and Onukukaitara, the Kaihihi River pa, and Kairau, Huirangi and other fortifications near Waitara. At Waireka in the winter of 1860 Maori works included three stockaded strongpoints in a network of rifle pits. Rifle pits were also employed with strongpoints at Kaihihi, the Huirangi and Te Arei bush edges in early 1861, and at Onukukaitara and Puketakauere.

An interesting group of Maori fortifications was on Greenwood's farm, Tataraimaka, where five pa were thrown up in winter 1860. There was also a strongpoint of rifle pits. This was a fortified line which barred the route south and held Pakeha land against its former owners. Earthworks thrown up by Waikato tribes in 1863–64 at Meremere, Rangiriri and Paterangi were similarly designed to prevent the advance of troops. The fortified lines at Huirangi and Te Arei consisted largely of rifle pits and were tactical works.

Rifle pits were used independently or in conjunction with pa in a flanking or surprise role, or they could be used independently. They comprised a hole in the ground, or traversed trench of varying length, partly covered by timber and earth as shown in Figure 52. An example of their effectiveness was at Puketakauere where advancing troops were caught unawares by defenders in rifle pits forward of the visible pa defences.

Pa were usually located at the forest edge: to channel the enemy's advance, and to allow

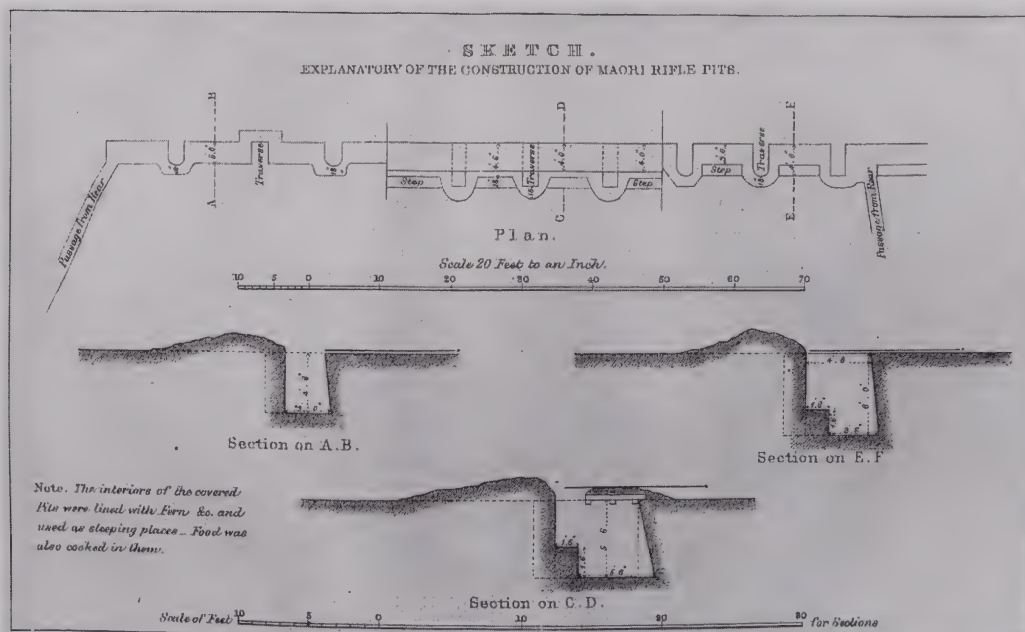


Fig. 52. 'Sketch. Explanatory of the construction of Maori rifle pits' (Pasley 1863).



an easy escape for the garrison if necessary. Nearby bush and gully rims gave positions for flanking fire. Maori were not bothered by having to abandon a pa, which was quickly carried out if circumstances required. They then built another pa elsewhere, to invite another attack by Pakeha forces.

Colonel Carey describes the Maori strategy.

“None of the positions taken up by the natives were of the slightest importance to them or to us. They did not cover magazines, roads, or any points of consequence; they were selected simply as spots the most inaccessible that could be found, from which retreat was secure. The abandonment of the paha after they had answered their purpose, was part of their system of war. In the native mind victory remained with the side that lost fewest men, and not with the possession of the barren piece of ground on which the fight took place. The Maori knew that when they assembled we had no choice but to attack them, and that we were only too glad when they took up a position. The mode of attack, however, was in our hands. Hitherto this had always been the same, viz. a rush on the place, which had at best resulted in its capture, with severe loss to us, and with little or none to the enemy.”

(Carey 1863:89–90)

Carey came to New Zealand as Deputy Adjutant General on Pratt’s staff and argues for the success of his chief’s tactic of sapping pa. He describes the Maori strategy well, but he exaggerates the willingness of British commanders to play the Maori game. When the enemy would not attack their fortified pa Maori strategic alternatives were limited.

In fact a feature of the war of 1860–61 is the considerable effort put into throwing up pa which were never attacked. These include the Te Atiawa pa Manutahi and Mataitawa, the Waireka fortifications, and the forest pa south of Stoney River described by Riemenschneider. Other pa found empty or quickly abandoned on the approach of troops show the difficulty faced by Maori in maintaining a fighting strength at several places while waiting for a Pakeha advance on one of them. This was not helped by Maori fighting men being heavily involved in food production at certain times of the year, a constraint not shared by the enemy.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGY

The New Zealand Wars of the 1860s are notable for the use of small fieldworks by both sides. This was rare in 19th century colonial warfare, and unusual in warfare anywhere. Maori had a long experience of fortified pa and used them in the campaigns as a key part of offensive and defensive strategies. Pakeha employed small fieldworks to protect lines of communication, at military and farming frontiers, and, less commonly – but importantly in the First Taranaki War – in tactical battlefield situations.

When British troops first took to the field in New Zealand they made little use of fortifications, Colonel Despard going so far as to order the removal of a breastwork at Waimate as an indication of weakness (Barthorp 1979:115). The First Taranaki War marks the adoption of fieldworks by British and colonial forces as a key element in waging war against the Maori.

At the same time, however, the 1860–61 campaign harks back to those of the 1840s in its lack on either side of a strategy that was likely to bring success, and in its failure to resolve

fundamental issues. The strategy of both sides was to inflict a defeat – or defeats – on the enemy, which would force them to back off the issue which led to war, in particular the Waitara purchase but also the general question of land sales to Europeans. Both sides suffered their greatest success and defeat at Maori pa – at Puketakauere and Mahoetahi.

But the war resolved nothing, and indeed could not since there was no mechanism by which either side could translate victory into resolution of the underlying conflict. That was to come later with the New Zealand Settlements Act which allowed the confiscation of Maori land, along with demographic and technological changes which closed down Maori options. Fortified pa were used to invite attack at the end of the sixties as they had been at the beginning; thus the limitations of Maori strategy were exposed. For the Pakeha the Taranaki war of 1860–61 was a learning experience. From 1863 the role of Pakeha fieldworks changed as European farmers took up confiscated land behind military frontiers. It was by this means that the issues left open in March 1861 were to be resolved.

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Map Showing Positions of Guard and Block Houses and Sentry Posts thrown out around Town of New Plymouth Maori War 1860–61. 1938. Copy in Taranaki Museum.

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## APPENDIX 1. Archaeological site record and map references.

Site names are followed by NZMS 260 map sheet number, New Zealand Archaeological Association site record number if available, and map reference. Approximate map references are given where the location is known but archaeological evidence has not been found. Unlocated sites are not listed.

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## Pakeha fortifications north of New Plymouth:

Bell Block Stockade P19 086405  
 Camp Waitara Q19/90 166441  
 Mahoetahi Stockade (Ngapuketurua) Q19/118 140418  
 Matarikoriko Stockade Q19/122 175405  
 No 1 (Kairau) Redoubt Q19/142 169398  
 No 2 Redoubt Q19/143 171393  
 No 3 Redoubt Q19/144 174390  
 No 4 Redoubt Q19/145 *ca* 176388  
 No 5 Redoubt Q19/146 178386  
 No 6 (Huirangi) Redoubt Q19/147 179384  
 No 7 Redoubt Q19/148 188376  
 No 8 Redoubt Q19/149 190373  
 Puketakauere Stockade Q19/130 163423  
 Waitara Blockhouse Q19/45 163452

## New Plymouth bases and blockhouses:

Carrington Road Blockhouse P19/175 033372  
 Fort Cameron P19 *ca* 037375  
 Fort Herbert P19/174 035374  
 Fort Murray P19 *ca* 022378  
 Fort Niger P19/152 042380  
 Fort Stapp P19 *ca* 038388  
 Henui Blockhouse P19 *ca* 040385  
 Marsland Hill P19 029375  
 Mt Eliot P19 *ca* 027381  
 No 2 Blockhouse P19 *ca* 023372  
 No 3 Blockhouse P19/121 026370

## Pakeha fortifications south of New Plymouth:

Camp Parawaha P19 837275  
 Fort Strange P19 *ca* 870295)  
 Fort Turner P19/42 891298)  
 Omata Stockade P19/35 988350  
 Waireka Camp P19/36 970342

## Fortifications of Te Atiawa and allied tribes north of New Plymouth:

Huirangi Q19 *ca* 179384  
 Hurirapa Q19 *ca* 164451  
 Kairau Q19 *ca* 169398



Korihi Q19 *ca* 193410  
Mahoetahi Q19/114 135420  
Onukukaitara Q19/130 163423  
Puketakauere Q19/120 165424  
Puketotara P19/160 *ca* 060359  
Te Tutu Q19 *ca* 186371  
Te Arei Q19 *ca* 193369  
Te Kohia Q19 *ca* 156427

Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui fortifications:

Burton's Hill P19 *ca* 997318  
Kaipopo P19 972342  
Mahainui P20/26 821171  
Mataiaio P19/105 835266  
Orongomaihangī P19/40 835267  
Pukekakariki P19/205 837267  
Tarakihī P20/12 774185  
Waireka Hill fortifications P19 *ca* 965337  
Warea P20/92 770185

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